manpower

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Reflections on Upgrading

manpower

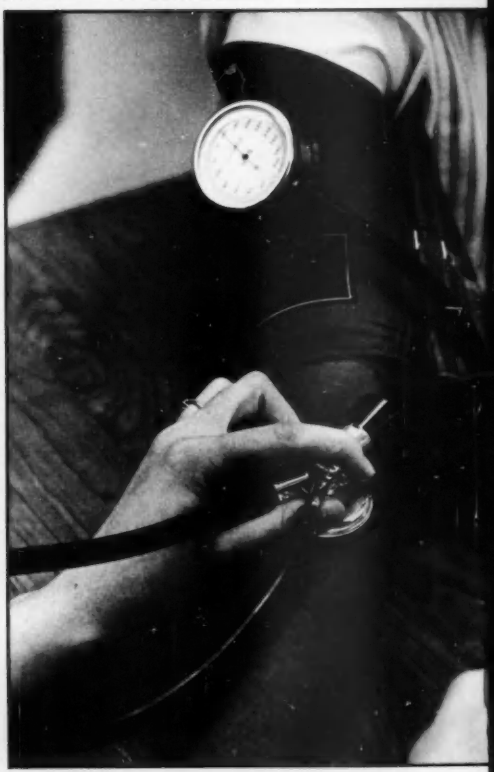
Central Casting, Move Over

Want an Indian guide? Your best bet right now probably would be central casting at a Hollywood movie studio. But film directors are not the only people on the lookout. Quite a few outdoorsmen dream of packing their rifle, sleeping bag, and some grub and going canoeing down a wild river, hunting and fishing with a knowledgeable Indian guide. And if all goes well with an unusual U.S. Department of Labor training program, in a few months that dream may come true.

With some $180,000 in Manpower Development and Training Act money, the Department is funding a class to train 45 men, most of them drawn from four Indian tribes, to guide tourists in hunting, fishing, and camping expeditions along the Colorado River.

The project took shape when the California Department of Employment's farm labor office discovered a demand for such guides among the 10 million people living in the urbanized area stretching from Los Angeles to Phoenix. To assure them of year-round employment opportunities, the trainees are being prepared not only to work as hunting and fishing guides in the area but also to handle jobs in service stations, sporting goods stores, and hotels and motels.

The training is being carried out at Palo Verde Junior College at Blythe, Calif. The teacher is John T. Meyers. But don't let the name fool you. In the old days, Meyers played an Indian in such movies as "Northwest Passage" and "Drums Along the Mohawk." It was realistic typecasting. He was for 10 years chairman of the tribal council of the Santa Rosa Indians.



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Ellis Rottman, editor
Emil Michael Aun, associate editor
Patricia Marshall, assistant editor
Richard Mathews, art director
Sally Moffat, associate art director

Reflections

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on Upgrading

By RAY MARSHALL

Few domestic issues have greater implications for social and economic problems than employment upgrading.[1] Upward mobility is important not only for social stability, but also to meet the manpower shortages which are likely to develop in the future.

The critical problems of race and poverty are related to the movement of people into better jobs. A major limitation of manpower and poverty programs during the 1960's has been their failure to make it possible for large numbers of people to move up the occupational ladder. The major thrust has been on moving people into entry-level jobs. The result has been to create competition between the employed poor and the unemployed poor as well as to generate resentment by those in the strata just above the poverty line who feel threatened by measures to help the disadvantaged. Inadequate attention to upgrading is understandable in view of the critical need for immediate measures to alleviate unemployment and underemployment, especially among Negroes and other racial minorities. But now that we have had an extended period with overall unemployment at a relatively low level and inflation has become a serious problem, it is necessary to give greater attention to upgrading.

Inadequate education is one of the most serious obstacles to upgrading. Indeed, schools probably do more to reflect and perpetuate the barriers to occupational mobility than any other institution. Many ghetto schools aggravate the disadvantages of the disadvantaged. By being socially, if not racially, segregated, they deny the disadvantaged youngster contact with people in better circumstances. Moreover, these schools are administered by people who often have unrealistic occupational information. Too many teachers view elementary and secondary education primarily as preparation for college, reflecting the prevailing American bias against preparation for skilled trades. Negro youngsters also have been handicapped by the sentimental attitudes of many teachers and administrators who contribute to educational disadvantages by requiring less of black youngsters than of whites in similar circumstances.

Although Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) programs were designed to compensate for past inadequacies of the school system, in some instances they have tended to perpetuate these problems. The disadvantaged have been concentrated primarily in MDTA classroom programs, which offer more limited preparation and less job potential than MDTA on-the-job training. As a result, the disadvantaged have been placed mainly in low-paying jobs with high turnover.

MDTA programs have relied heavily on the State employment security agencies or community institutions for information about jobs. These organizations may know very little about the better jobs, which tend to be filled mainly by personal contacts, private referrals, and technical training schools or colleges.

Many of the main limitations on hiring and upgrading stem from the basic motives of businesses and unions. As profit-making institutions, businesses do whatever they can to keep costs down. Reflecting community racial and caste prejudices,

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Mr. Marshall is professor of economics at the University of Texas.

[1] The concept of upgrading is a slippery one, because it sometimes refers to higher status jobs and sometimes to higher incomes. Although these two concepts are related, the correlation is not perfect. In this article, unless otherwise indicated, upward occupational mobility will mean either increasing incomes or getting into lines of progression which permit later increases in income.

businessmen traditionally have hired Negroes and other minorities primarily for menial, dead-end jobs. The extent to which employers respond to the profit motive and hire people on the basis of merit has been determined largely by their ability to protect themselves from community pressures. One of the main effects of antidiscrimination laws has been to insulate employers from such pressures.

It must be acknowledged, however, that racial prejudice is only one part of the complex constellation of forces preventing the upgrading of the disadvantaged. To some extent the profit maximizing principle could spur upgrading where the disadvantaged can overcome the handicaps which cause them to have low productivity.

Public Interest Stressed

The profit maximizing principle has a number of implications for policies to promote effective training and upgrading programs. Because benefits from training are unpredictable and have long payoff periods, few companies have well-organized programs. Most employers seem to adjust to skilled manpower shortages first by pirating from other firms. Training becomes important only in very tight labor markets. Probably the best way to get employers to offer training, therefore, is to create tight labor markets.

In the absence of outside pressures, the profit motive also makes employers more interested in preparing workers for immediate short-run needs, thus producing narrow specialized instruction rather than the more general training which facilitates upgrading and geographical mobility. Moreover, companies probably resist producing well-rounded craftsmen because the worker rather than the company is the prime beneficiary.

If these generalizations are accurate, the best training from the point of view of the worker and society is not likely to come in private firms but in schools, multi-employer organizations (such as contractor associations in the building trades), or in completely new community corporations representing public and private interests. Individual firms are able to give effective on-the-job training, but may do a poor job with classroom instruction and in making available a variety of job experiences. Work sites are not ordinarily good places for learning general skills, because they are designed primarily for production, not teaching.

Probably the best predominantly private job training in the United States is the apprenticeship systems in the printing, construction, and metal-working crafts. Due to the structure of these industries, employers and unions have combined to create training programs which are not restricted by the profit maximizing desires of a single firm but by the manpower needs of the industry. A major force for apprenticeship training is the union, which is likely to be more concerned with benefits to the worker than with employer profits. The union therefore is likely to see that workers receive training that will make it possible for them to adapt to a variety of work situations.

Apprenticeship promotes upgrading because it trains workers in all aspects of their trades under realistic conditions while teaching them the theory through classroom instruction. Done properly, apprenticeship training produces well-rounded craftsmen who know the theory of their crafts as well as the skills needed to perform a variety of tasks, and who can advance to foremen or even contractors.

MDTA programs which combine on-the-job and classroom training have produced disappointing results, but this evidently is due more to program imperfections than to fundamental defects in the idea. Combined on-the-job and classroom training programs could do much to promote upgrading if community corporations representing public and private interests were given greater responsibility for operating them, with proper safeguards for the welfare of employees.

Tradition also is an impediment to upgrading in American industry. In addition to the race and status considerations already mentioned, there is a class dimension to the problem. Except in fields like contract construction, the better jobs in industry usually are filled from institutions of higher education and not by upgrading through the ranks. Of course, craftsmen can move into the technical and professional ranks by acquiring the necessary academic credentials, but most industries do not provide a ready means for doing this and few craftsmen are motivated to make the effort.

Our decentralized economic system also creates obstacles to upgrading by stimulating monopoly instincts, whereby people already in occupations, industries, and crafts seek to conserve upgrading opportunities for themselves. In a market economy in which rewards vary directly with demand and inversely with supply, it is not surprising that people try to monopolize their positions. The trouble, however, is that monopolistic tactics restrict opportunities for outsiders and cause inefficient use of resources in the entire system.

Opportunities Restricted

The main weakness of the apprenticeship system, for example, is that it is controlled by people who have vested interests in restricting entry and conserving job opportunities. There are similar shortcomings in local licensing procedures for a number of occupations. Such "inside" control can make it very difficult for training opportunities to be acquired by persons who have no contacts in the occupation they seek to enter. The public interest requires that decisions on such matters as qualifications for jobs and training programs not be left entirely to the discretion of those already in the industry, especially at the local level. If licensing is deemed to be in the national interest, it probably would be better for it to be at the State or national level to prevent control by narrow local interests.

Qualifications is one of the most critical issues in upgrading. It is a key factor, for example, in efforts to get minorities into the skilled trades. Unions and em-

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ployers insist that those who enter these trades be qualified, whereas civil rights leaders consider many minorities already qualified. Also, there is considerable controversy over the content and length of training programs established by industry, especially where there are motives to restrict entry. These questions are likely to become more critical as minorities demand job and upgrading opportunities and national manpower programs are perfected. It is therefore essential that national policy come to grips with the qualifications and standards problems. Some mechanism must be created which will reflect the needs of industry as well as national policy.

Hopefully, union and employer representatives will agree on standards and qualifications which are relevant to job requirements and conform with national economic and social policy. Suspicions regarding the fairness and relevance of standards might be removed by impartial outside monitoring with appeals procedures for those who feel they have been treated unfairly. Because of the importance of this problem, if private parties do not establish fair standards and procedures, the Government should. However, since industry expertise is important in these matters, union and employer representatives should participate with public members in setting qualifications and standards and administering the program. It should be emphasized that we need to examine the restrictive practices of all established organizations, not just craft unions.

What have come to be known as manpower programs are at the heart of the upgrading problem. They are closely related to and often fuse with education, welfare, and economic programs. Education and training need to be geared to every level of the occupational structure and should facilitate employment of those who have not been able to get jobs in the regular economy. A study currently in progress under my direction for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and the Manpower Administration of the U.S. Department of Labor suggests that over half of the difference in occupational position between whites and nonwhites can be accounted for by education adjusted for levels of achievement.

In addition to stimulating upward occupational mobility, an ideal nationwide upgrading program should help reduce poverty, facilitate employment of the unemployed, make it possible to maintain low unemployment without triggering inflation, and overcome manpower bottlenecks. Local projects should be flexible enough to fit the realities of target areas and populations. The immediate goal should be the upgrading of individuals. But, wherever possible, efforts also should be made to identify and correct those institutional shortcomings which contribute to lack of upward mobility.

Upgrading programs that attempt to move the unemployed into jobs or training will require outreach activities to seek out people who will benefit from the projects. Outreach can be performed most effectively by people who understand not only the requirements of the jobs or training programs but also the target populations. The prototype of this kind of outreach is the Joint Apprenticeship Program operated by the Workers Defense League in New York.

Better Counseling Needed

The educational aspects of upgrading should be handled by specialized educational institutions and not by business firms. There is, however, much that companies can do to facilitate the educational segment of the training, including defraying part of the costs and arranging work schedules to allow time for classroom work. In some cases, it might even be desirable to permit workers to be absent from work for extended periods to acquire the necessary education and training.

Since the foundation for upward mobility must be built early, improved job information and counseling for youngsters is essential. This function can be performed best by the employment service in cooperation with schools and community organizations. It is particularly important to give prospective workers sufficient information to make it possible for them to choose occupations that offer opportunities for advancement.

Many unemployed persons, especially the so-called hard core, require specialized instruction and counseling to meet entry-level requirements for jobs and

training programs. For example, it might be necessary to tutor prospective trainees or employees on matters of dress and conduct which have little to do with job performance but which are required to gain entry into jobs or training programs. Persons with poor work records also often need special preparation for tests and interviews.

Racial discrimination is one of the most serious obstacles to upgrading for Negroes, and is a major reason for their inferior occupational positions. It is important, however, to distinguish two forms of discrimination. One is specific, overt acts which antidiscrimination laws are designed to combat. The other, and more important, form is the institutionalized pattern of segregation that prevails in the United States. Institutionalized segregation has produced inferior housing, ghettos, inadequate education, inadequate job information, and all of the other manifestations of discrimination suffered by Negroes. Segregated housing has made the time and costs of reaching good jobs, which tend to be outside ghettos, serious obstacles to occupational mobility for Negroes.

Proving Bias Difficult

Equality of opportunity requires the elimination of institutionalized as well as overt discrimination. The major disadvantage of antidiscrimination measures in a society stressing due process of law is their heavy reliance on the case method and the difficulties of proof. Despite the difficulties, these laws can be helpful, especially when they permit a range of penalties that make it possible to develop strategies to overcome discrimination by individuals and organizations. But these methods of combating overt discrimination must be combined with other manpower policies if they are to bring institutional adjustment.

Negroes must not only have equal access to education and training, but employers must take positive measures to eliminate discrimination at all levels of management and to assure that opposition by white workers will not prevent upgrading. There are many subtle ways upward occupational mobility for Negroes can be blocked, even when hiring is ostensibly open and segregated seniority rosters have been eliminated. Failure to make available remedial education and training is one tactic. Companies also can impede upward mobility by hiring Negroes who are not likely to have the motivation or qualifications to move up. Similarly, companies might tolerate intimidation of Negroes by white workers or yield to threats by the latter against upgrading black workers; experience demonstrates that the upgrading of Negroes requires a firm position by employers and unions.

Any discussion of upgrading disadvantaged workers raises the question of preferential treatment. Some observers argue that preferential treatment is necessary to compensate Negroes for past discrimination. Where realistic promotion requirements exist, it is unwise and unnecessary to give preferential treatment. It does little good in the long run to put a Negro in a job for which he is unqualified. It is highly desirable, on the other hand, to adopt special programs to make it possible for Negroes and other workers who need remedial help to meet job or upgrading qualifications.

Training allowances are particularly important determinants of upgrading because they make it possible for workers to support their families while learning. Allowances should be geared to a percentage of wages and not to a percentage of unemployment compensation. For new workers, allowances might be geared to the minimum wage. Moving allowances to permit workers to relocate in areas where training opportunities or better jobs are available also should be considered.

Careful attention must be given to job placement to make certain workers with upgrading potential are placed in jobs that make it possible for them to advance. Use of resources for training programs for very low-level jobs is a questionable practice. In many cases, workers with upgrading potential have been

placed in dead-end jobs because they are easiest to obtain. In other instances, so-called training projects have been little more than welfare programs. Welfare is an important part of social policy, but it should not be confused with training, which must be realistic preparation for work with good jobs at the end of the cycle. It is doubtful that much training is needed for jobs paying no more than the minimum wage. Public service jobs paying at least the minimum wage should be created for people who cannot be absorbed in the private sector.

Because of its success in producing goods and services and the Government's inability to run training programs effectively, it is not surprising that private enterprise should be called on to solve social problems. There is, however, a serious danger in moving from one extreme to the other. It is unlikely that private enterprise will be able to solve the upgrading problem without help from Government and community organizations.

The main advantages of having private enterprise handle training are the discipline the profit motive exerts on the

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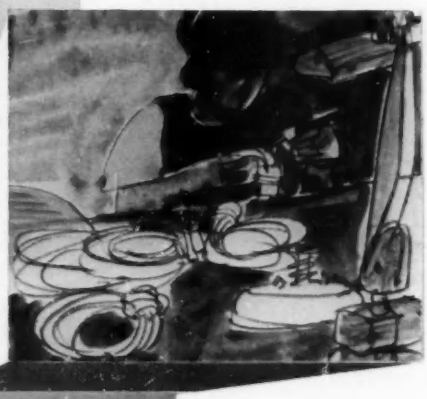

use of resources, the skill of entrepreneurs in managing change, and the political and social advantages of educating the private sector on the complexities of social problems. While private programs usually die if they fail in an economic sense, Government projects can continue under poor management for long periods of time. Private entrepreneurs therefore provide flexibility and efficiency in focusing resources on problems. Involving the private sector also has the advantage of transferring the loss to private parties if the effort is unsuccessful.

There are, however, some serious disadvantages in relying on private enterprise to solve social problems. For one thing, it is very difficult to be sure that subsidies to private enterprises are used to accomplish public objectives. Firms that receive tax incentives for training may well use the money for activities such as supervisory and managerial training that they would have done without tax incentives.

Most of the disadvantages of having private enterprise handle training and manpower activities stem from the natural desire of businessmen to increase profits. If entrepreneurs make manpower training decisions, they are likely to help those who need help least because this maximizes profits. And businessmen are likely to be very reluctant to share decisionmaking power with representatives of the trainees, or, indeed, with representatives of Government agencies. Business firms also are reluctant to give broad general training that would be more costly but would make workers more mobile and facilitate their adjustment to changing conditions.

How then can the benefits of the private sector be realized and the disadvantages avoided? One way would be to encourage public training corporations, which could represent public as well as private interests. They could operate a wide array of training facilities similar to those currently being provided by Government-funded skill centers in major cities. After they were launched, these organizations might be autonomous from Government and private organizations.

Assign Benefits to Trainees

The interests of trainees might be protected by assigning Government benefits to them rather than compensating companies for training or letting Government agencies administer it. The prototype of this approach is found in the succesful GI Bill of Rights. Such a program might give all workers above a certain age the right to job training and skill development tailored to their individual needs and abilities. Trainees would receive tuition and income allowance and supportive services and have the right to attend an accredited public or private education or training institution or take on-the-job training. Administrative costs to the institution selected would be paid by the Federal Government.

Giving training and education rights to individuals would have a number of advantages, the most important of which would be to permit the recipient to acquire the services appropriate to his employment development, career readiness, and job realities. Under this approach the trainee would become a consumer seeking to purchase what he needs, breaking his dependency on bureaucracies to supply his requirements.

Beyond giving the individual greater control over his career, the training grant approach would:

- Simplify and decentralize administration by removing many of the funding problems associated with project grant procedures. Once training programs were approved, there would be no need to consider projects on an individual basis. The Federal role would be shifted from administering numerous grant-in-aid programs to evaluating program results.
- Avoid the present pitfall of forcing trainees to enroll in a program solely because it is the only one available.
- Lead to healthy competition among a variety of Government and private agencies and schools to train workers as efficiently and effectively as possible, a competition which should produce an objective basis for evaluating results.
- Strengthen the financial base of local publicly supported vocational and technical schools by providing a source of revenue in addition to local taxes and facilitating development of programs designed more to individual need than to local tax structure limitations.
- More fully engage private resources in the solution of social problems, creating a wider diversity of program offerings than is now available.
- Allow for more intense coverage where the need is greatest through the establishment of eligibility criteria and simple registration procedures.

The grant procedure would promote upgrading and help governmental and private structures to focus resources on this problem. It would make it possible to use resources as efficiently as possible, and one of the main lessons of the 1960's is that available resources for social programs are likely to be very limited relative to the needs. Efficient use of resources probably is an essential prerequisite to getting Congress to devote more funds to manpower programs. □

Technicians: How to Grow Your Own

By JAMES L. ECHOLS

How long does it take to increase the earning capacity of a poor man by two-thirds?

People at the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) plant in Oak Ridge, Tenn., would say about 6 or 7 months. And they speak from experience. In the past 3 years 834 unemployed and underemployed people have been successfully trained in industrial work at the plant. Their average wage at the last job they held before training was $3,577. On their first job after training it was $5,928. And at last count, more than 95 percent of them were still employed and earning an average of $6,333 a year.

This experimental Manpower Administration program, known as the Training and Technology (TAT) project, has produced results such as these:

- A former Federal penitentiary inmate is now a highly paid physical-testing technician. While in training he was elected president of the trainee council.
- A slum-reared girl with two illegitimate children, formerly on welfare, has been a glassblower at a Berkeley, Calif., firm since her graduation 2 years ago. Church groups in Oak Ridge raised the money that enabled her to relocate when she accepted the California job.
- A youth classified by his high school as being on the borderline of mental retardation is now a construction welder. TAT discovered his trouble was not mental but physical. His vision was distorted by a muscular disorder in his eyes. Corrective glasses and eye exercise restored his eyesight to normal.

TAT set out to demonstrate that the industrial and professional capabilities which developed atomic power could be effective in developing manpower as well.

Mr. Echols is president of Manpower Education and Training Services, Inc., Knoxville, Tenn., and former senior administrative officer for the Training and Technology Project.

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The project brought together industry, organized labor, schools, and government in a concerted effort to impart technical industrial skills to the unemployed and underdeveloped in a relatively short time. The skills taught in the training programs, which now average 6 months per trainee, are mechanical drafting, industrial electronics, machining of metals, quality control through physical testing, combination welding, scientific glassblowing (no longer taught), and general mechanics. Graduates are employed in responsible jobs in some of the Nation's high-technology industries: General Dynamics, Lockheed, IBM, Philco-Ford, National Accelerator Laboratory, and Sandia Corporation. The majority are working for Union Carbide Corporation, which operates research and production facilities for the AEC Oak Ridge plant. Union Carbide took a leading role in the training program.

Before TAT, the trainees held such jobs as service station attendant, grocery clerk, bus boy, janitor, and farm laborer. Only 37 percent of the men and women held full-time regular jobs at the time of enrollment. Another 21 percent had part-time, temporary, or seasonal work. The rest were unemployed.

Responsibilities Shared

The project, which began in June 1966, is sponsored by Oak Ridge Associated Universities, a nonprofit educational and research corporation of 41 southern universities. The AEC provided facilities and equipment at no cost to the project.

The University of Tennessee trained the teachers and counseled program participants. Union Carbide had the major responsibility for industrial skill and technical instruction. Its employees also taught work-related subjects, including blueprint reading, math, science, and communications. Recruiting was done by the Tennessee Department of Employment Security. The Tennessee Division of Vocational-Technical Education helped develop and evaluate the program. Several remedial classes in math and communications were conducted by the Oak Ridge Adult Education Program. A number of labor unions, including the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the International Association of Machinists, help recruit, train, and evaluate the new workers and place them in jobs.

Funding for the first 3 years has amounted to a little more than $2.5 million. Of this, $742,000 came from the U.S. Office of Education and the Atomic Energy Commission, the remainder from the Department of Labor under the Manpower Development and Training Act. Funding for the current phase, which ends in October 1970, during which 300 more will be trained, will amount to nearly $861,000. The Atomic Energy Commission and the Appalachian Regional Commission (a new partner this year) are contributing a little less than $200,000 each. The rest will come from the Labor Department.

By helping to train underemployed people in the Oak Ridge area, the AEC feels it can reduce the cost and difficulty of recruiting new workers. Normally, the AEC would have to offer premium wages and pay moving expenses to induce craftsmen around the country to transfer to Oak Ridge. And its experience has been that workers recruited from distant locations often remain only a short time before moving to the next better paying job.

TAT has thus contributed to the development of a stable, locally based work force in Oak Ridge. At the same time, it has reduced poverty in the Appalachian section of East Tennessee.

Project Director Wendell H. Russell hopes other Government agencies will follow AEC's lead. "If just 1 percent of Government contract spending was earmarked for the training of new employees and upgrading of present ones, it would give a healthy boost to the national manpower development effort," he said.

As a side experiment, TAT undertook to train 24 disadvantaged blacks from Chicago's inner city for jobs with the AEC's National Accelerator Laboratory (NAL) near Batavia, Ill. The 24 were recruited in late January and brought to Oak Ridge for 5 to 8 months training in drafting, machining, electronics, or general mechanics. All but two completed the course and are now working at the Batavia plant.

Training Changed Attitude

One of the successful graduates, Halbert Landers, 21, called the training program "a beautiful thing." It led to his first steady job and stimulated his appetite for education. He was recruited by the State employment service in Chicago and interviewed and selected to go to Oak Ridge by NAL.

"I was kind of shocked because I was a dropout," he said. "I was determined to do my best and not cop out like I had before. I knew it was probably my last chance."

Landers had worked at 15 or 20 different jobs, mostly in construction, at which he never lasted more than a month. His highest pay had been $1.75 an hour. Today he is a mechanical technician, helping to build an atomic accelerator at NAL, and earning $3 an hour.

"My whole attitude changed," said Landers of his 20 weeks at Oak Ridge. "The people tried to make us feel welcome. They had picnics and parties for us and were very nice."

As a result of this sort of encouragement, both on and off the job, Landers earned his high school equivalency while at Oak Ridge. "It took the whole 20 weeks to do the work. I got it just before

I left," he said. His teacher took a personal interest in Landers, tutored him, encouraged him, and even drove him to the University of Tennessee for the equivalency test. Now he is studying data processing at night at Waubonsee Community College at Sugar Grove, Ill.

The average age of all trainees to date was 23. Nearly 25 percent were Negroes. A substantial number were classified as disadvantaged. Though most of the recruits were high school graduates, special tests showed a mean achievement level of 10th grade in reading and 8th grade in math.

Skill and Theory Taught

The TAT Program is a mixture of skill and theory training, instruction in trade-related academic subjects, career seminars, and supportive services. The program is flexible enough to move trainees into jobs when ready, and early graduation is encouraged. Training time, which was 52 weeks at the outset, has been reduced gradually to an average of 6 months. However, intensive supportive services have proved necessary to make the underemployed and disadvantaged trainees job ready in this relatively short period. These services include personal guidance, career counseling, emphasis on attendance, and help in transportation, housing, and family budget problems.

Career seminars help trainees recognize, understand, and aspire to industry jobs with opportunities for advancement. The relatively few trainees, about 10 percent, who prove incapable of being trained for advanced-level work, are prepared for lower rated but well-paying jobs such as machine cleaning, utility servicing, or plant maintenance.

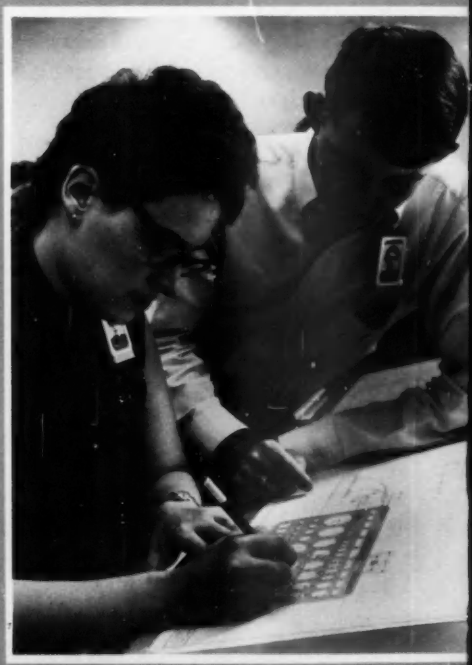
The development of experienced staffs in supportive services has paid dividends. Attendance has risen from 89 percent at the outset to more than 96 percent. At the same time, the dropout rate has declined from 22 percent to 9 percent. Yet the last trainee group was the most severely disadvantaged to be recruited so far. "Constant attention to attendance and tardiness is probably the most important activity we perform in achieving these figures and in maintaining trainee morale," Russell said. "Poor attendance is both an indicator of problems in the project and a cause of them. We try to act quickly to get at the cause."

Trade-related academic subjects are tailored to ability levels. Time devoted to math, science, and communications ranges from 10 to 50 percent of the trainees' 40-hour week, depending on the point each has reached in the program. Usually, more time is spent on these subjects in the early stages to give the trainee a base for his laboratory or shop experiences.

To maintain student interest, instructors have found it necessary to relate academic subjects closely to the trade areas. Thus, constant communication between academic teachers and trade instructors is necessary. However, teachers avoid narrowing the subject matter to the point where it has relevance only to a specific job skill. They try to keep the subject matter broad enough so that the trainee, after taking a job, can move up the ladder or change jobs if obsolescence ends a need for his specific skill.

Skill and theory training, conducted entirely by Union Carbide employees, also is kept flexible to meet individual needs. There are 13 courses or levels of instruction for the skills being taught. For instance, in physical testing, training is conducted at the technician and inspector levels, in drafting at the

The big Atomic Energy Commission complex in Oak Ridge, Tenn., has proved to be a fertile training ground for unemployed and underemployed persons seeking to learn well-paying technical industrial skills.



Trainees Zeola Keeble and W. L. Robinson work together on a drafting assignment.

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R. M. Clements, Jr. reads an X-ray negative as part of his instruction in a physical testing class.

Instructor C. C. Jones of Union Carbide (center) watches mechanics class students R. R. Suttles (left) and J. E. Davis put theory into practice.

engineering aide, design, and detailing levels.

TAT has proved to be a good investment in both human and economic terms. A cost-benefit study of the project, conducted by University of Tennessee economist Frederick Kirby, estimates that:

- Graduates will realize an average return of 26 percent per year on the Federal investment.
- As a result of his training, each individual will approximately double his expected income over a working lifetime.

Kirby concludes, on the basis of his study, that the public investment in TAT is "economically rational" and, further, that the estimate of the economic benefit is "actually an underestimate of the total social benefit."

Rapid Return in Taxes

Project officials emphasize the rapid return to the Federal treasury of funds spent for training. Increased tax payments by trainees, based on average rise in annual income, will repay the entire cost of their training in a maximum of 5 years.

This calculation is based on the $2,125 average income for all trainees, employed and unemployed, at the outset of the project, and their $6,011 average income on January 1, 1969.

The total of increased earnings of graduates each year is more than the total cost of their training. The first 500 TAT graduates, trained at a cost of $1.5 million, now return an additional $2 million each year to the economy in increased earnings.

Russell feels that data of this kind on manpower development provide a much-needed yardstick against which program developers and funding agencies can measure input and effort against results. "These studies have significance in helping determine how to allocate resources

Metal machining adjustments are made by trainee Carl Jones.

both within a program and over the broad field of human resource development," he said. "For instance, TAT is a higher cost training program than some. However, the cost-benefit study forcefully demonstrates that these expenditures are much more than offset by a higher rate of return. In other words, if you put more in and allocate it properly, you get more out."

TAT grew from a 1965 study of southern manpower resources conducted by Oak Ridge Associated Universities for the U.S. Department of Labor. The findings, published in a report, *Resources for Southern Manpower Development,* revealed a great need for human resource development in the South and an increasing demand for workers with advanced technical skills. It concluded that the resources of industry could be made available for developing the potential of low-skilled individuals to the point that they could be employed in high-wage jobs.

The resulting TAT project was developed to combine the capabilities of 13 organizations of five different types at the local, State, and Federal levels. The design called for the use of existing institutions such as the University of Tennessee and the State employment service rather than creating new institutions to conduct human resource development.

Russell views the industrial component —the plant setting and the use of Union Carbide personnel—as the key feature of TAT. "The use of industry in manpower training can assure a more effective transfer of skills, while at the same time reducing costs," he said. "The discipline and reality of the industrial setting at TAT made training easier while the prospect of high-wage industrial jobs at the end all but eliminated serious problems of motivation among the trainees."

An example of this motivation was the attitude of the trainees toward learning math, science, and communications. Although many of them had done poorly in these subjects in high school, they frequently asked TAT instructors to add more courses or to broaden the subject matter. "They saw a need for these subjects in their shop and laboratory classes and wanted to acquire all the knowledge they could before going to a job," Russell said. "Some of the trainees who had failed or barely passed their high school mathematics were ready for basic calculus at the end of a few months."

TAT Idea Spreading

Looking ahead, the TAT idea is spreading within the Atomic Energy Commission and its contractor companies. This is perhaps the most solid testimonial to TAT's success. A small program patterned after the Oak Ridge project is being started at the Gaseous Diffusion Plant at Paducah, Ky. Representatives of nearly every other major AEC complex in the country have either visited TAT to get ideas for their own training programs or requested visits from TAT personnel.

Meanwhile, Oak Ridge Associated Universities is at work building a manpower services component as part of TAT, which will permit the staff to provide technical services to companies or agencies planning, developing, or operating training programs.

"There are 5 to 10 million people in the South alone who have less education than is normally required for the expanding occupations of the future," Russell said. "Existing manpower training and vocational eduction programs together are hardly denting this need. Combinations of industry, education, and other existing resources are one of the best hopes we have of substantially increasing the Nation's training capacity quickly. TAT has shown that this approach works." □

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News&Notes

Businessmen all over the United States now have the opportunity to contract with the U.S. Department of Labor to hire and train the disadvantaged jobless through the Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) Program. The Labor Department, the State employment services, and the National Alliance of Businessmen will assist businesses in all cities and towns to recruit, hire, and train the hard-core unemployed. Under JOBS contracts, employers receive Government payments to help cover the extra costs of hiring and training the disadvantaged. These contract arrangements had been available in 125 metropolitan areas in 40 States.

* * *

The Concentrated Employment Program (CEP) is being redesigned for greater efficiency. Under the new arrangement, the local State employment service will perform such services as outreach, recruiting, and counseling. "Employability teams" will be created to give personalized service to each CEP client. Work sample techniques will be used to assess each recruit's job potential, and the number of recruits will be limited to the local CEP's capacity to serve them adequately.

* * *

Many experts believe disadvantaged people from the inner city would be a stable work force for business and industry in the suburbs if they lived close to their jobs. The Department of Labor is funding a $39,864 experimental project with the Greater Kansas City Council on Religion and Race to gather more information on the subject. Participating will be the breadwinners from 20 poor families living in Kansas City's inner core who have found work in the suburbs, but to whom distance from the job presents commuting and expense problems.

* * *

Eight major Labor Department manpower programs were training or otherwise aiding 655,000 persons at the beginning of September. The program with the largest single enrollment was the Neighborhood Youth Corps with 338,400.

The U.S. Department of Labor has asked the Department of Justice to consider possible legal action for ending alleged discriminatory practices by unions in federally assisted construction work in Seattle. Labor asked Justice to consider "patterns or practices of discrimination" suits against at least five construction trades unions in Seattle to bring about "realistic minority employment opportunity" in construction projects involving Federal funds.

* * *

The Workers' Defense League of New York has placed a total of 1,491 minority youths in the building and construction trades under the Labor Department's Apprenticeship Outreach Program. The Department has now granted the League a new contract for $941,980 to aid 725 youths in seven communities in the next 18 months. Under a 1-year $54,367 contract, the Tri-County Peoria (Ill.) Urban League will place and prepare 25 youths for apprenticeship entry.

* * *

Some 84 percent of the 16,540 Job Corps trainees at centers closed in July engaged in subsequent training, found jobs, went back to school, or entered military service. A Labor Department review shows that 3,373 were graduated before the centers closed, 6,697 transferred to one of the 48 remaining centers, 2,627 found employment, 859 were placed in training programs, 213 returned to school, and 107 went into the service.

* * *

There were 30.8 million women in the civilian labor force in July 1969, and 10.6 million were working mothers with children under the age of 18. Some 4.1 million working mothers had children under 6.

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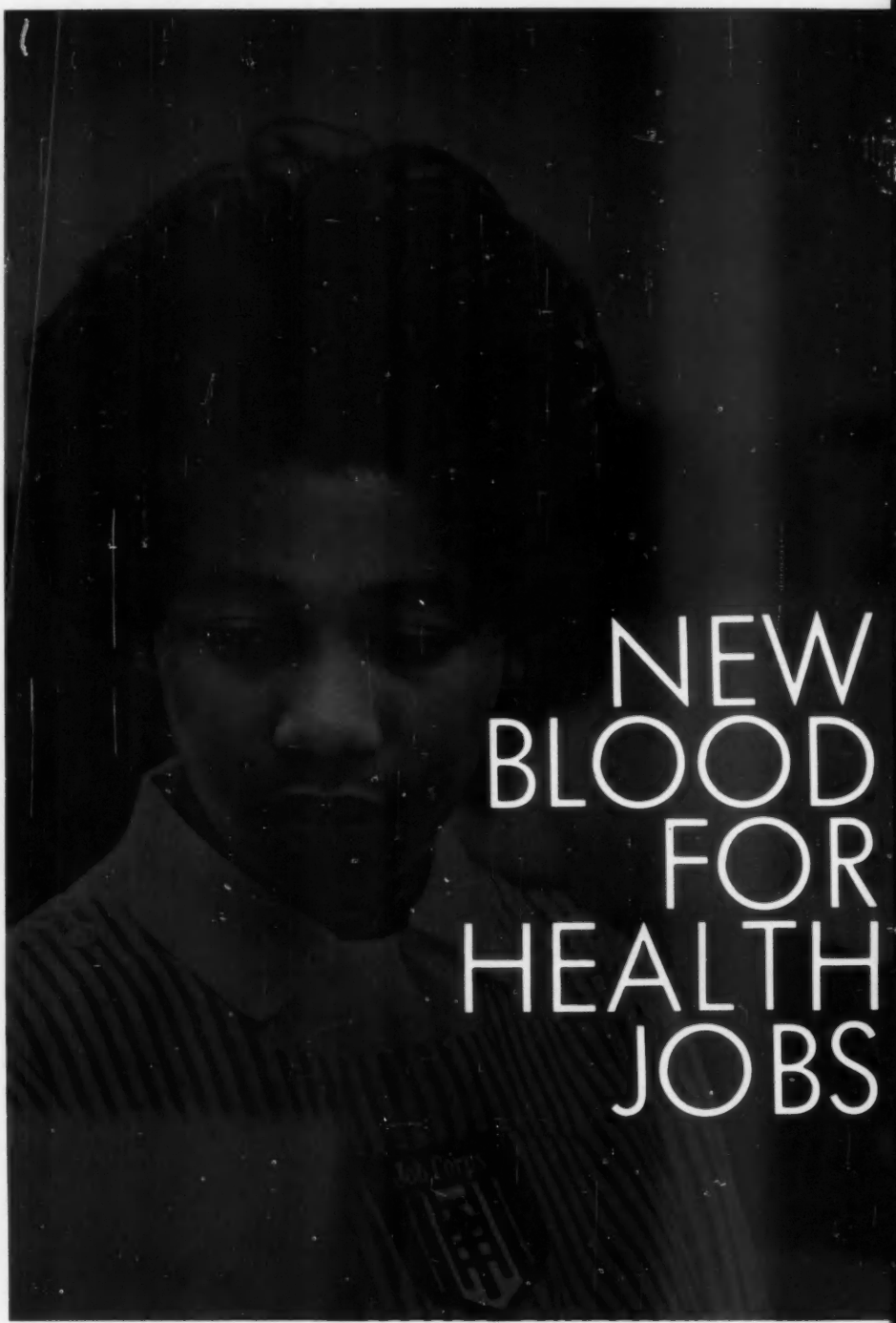
The Labor Department has authorized Georgetown University Law Center to do a research study on how great an impediment a criminal record is for people seeking jobs in the public sector. The study will be limited to State and local governments and their agencies.



NEW BLOOD FOR HEALTH JOBS

By Margaret M. Troxell

Emerson once said, "The first wealth is health." The Job Corps today is making a contribution to the country's first wealth.

Job Corps centers are turning out not only licensed practical nurses and nurse aides but also such important health care personnel as medical secretaries, dental and laboratory assistants, and ward clerks. And many corpswomen have been spurred by their training to go on to college for further study.

One of these is Diane Edmonds, 21, who entered Wytheville Community College in Wytheville, Va., in September after graduating from the Blue Ridge Job Corps Center in Marion, Va., where she trained as a medical secretary. She is paying her tuition by working as a part-time secretary.

Miss Edmonds, who is studying secretarial science, said the center "gave me a skill which is letting me work my way through college. I lacked ability in many things such as self-confidence. Job Corps has made me a success in many ways. It gave me confidence in myself and did a lot for me. I now have something I'm very proud of."

Employers Are Enthusiastic

Those who employ Job Corps graduates are equally enthusiastic. Commenting on three alumnae employed in the University of Rochester Medical Center, Assistant Personnel Director J. Rayford Whitley said: "All of these young women have performed very well, especially Miss R., who was promoted to senior nursing assistant. If they are typical of your graduates, then you should be very proud of your accomplishments."

He asked for more referrals from the Jersey City center, which had trained the three.

Job Corps centers are financed through the U.S. Department of Labor and are operated by private contractors. They function on a 24-hour-a-day basis, 7 days a week, providing lodging, meals, clothing, medical and dental care, basic education, and occupational training.

Miss Troxell is a member of the Manpower Administration information staff.

Preparing hard-core unemployed youth 16 to 22 years old to become independent self-supporting citizens is the object of Corps training. At the same time, the Corps helps meet personnel shortages which are plaguing the economy.

Few occupations equal the health field in the need for massive transfusions of manpower. Job Corps, in both its urban and rural centers, is helping to develop some of this needed manpower. One center for men and nine for women are giving training in health occupations, or as they are often called, paramedical fields.

The Jersey City Center for Women, for example, is training more than a third of its 700 inner-city residents in health occupations. With the exception of one course, the entire program at the Blue

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Ridge Center, at Marion, Va., which houses 170 young women in a rural setting, is devoted entirely to paramedical training.

The Jersey City Center prepares girls for four health occupations: Licensed practical nurse, nurse aide, dental assistant, and medical laboratory assistant. The 3-year-old center, operated by the city's YWCA, gives the young hopefuls a mixture of classroom instruction in theory and on-the-job experience.

The 1-year practical nurse course, for example, requires a total of 1,584 hours of training, with 534 devoted to theory. The remaining 1,050 hours are spent by the students in clinical practice at the Jersey City Medical Center, the Margaret Hague Maternity Hospital, the Liberty House in Geriatrics, and the State Hospital in Morris Plains. The school is approved by the New Jersey State Board of Nurses Examiners.

Licensed practical nurse trainees must be at least 17 years old, have a high school diploma or equivalency, and pass the prenursing qualification exam. The 1-year course trains them to carry out, under professional supervision, effective and safe bedside nursing. Fundamental principles of the various nursing specialties—obstetrics, pediatrics, psychiatric and geriatric nursing—are taught.

Courses on the healthy individual, the ambulatory patient, and the acutely ill give the student information about the human body, health, and various illnesses and their treatment, as well as the nursing skills needed to look after patients.

Emphasis is on the care of the patient as an individual rather than as a person with an illness, and this philosophy permeates all of the courses. Classes in elemental psychology and sociology contribute to this objective. On completing her training, the graduate may remain at the center and take the New Jersey State licensing examination or take a licensing examination in another State.

(At the outset, the School of Practical Nursing, launched in March 1968, had an unexpected success. The first class of 10 students disbanded when all of them received scholarships to Albany State University.)

The training for the other three health occupations is less stringent. Nurse aides require only 444 hours of training, almost evenly split between the classroom and the hospital. Dental assistants must complete the nurse aide program and move on to 960 more hours of instruction and practice. Medical lab assistants are trained for 1,500 hours.

To date, more than 230 girls have graduated from paramedical courses at Jersey City and 247 are still in training.

The Blue Ridge Center, operated by the Brunswick Corporation, opened in November 1967 as an experimental project to determine whether a regional center was the best way to reach young women from Appalachia. The center draws its applicants from rural areas in five States—Kentucky, North Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia, and Tennessee.

Before establishment of Blue Ridge, Appalachian girls were sent to large centers outside the area and the dropout rate was far above the national average of approximately 30 percent. The resident of Appalachia is considered difficult to recruit because of fear of the outside, fear of anything new, and close-knit family relationships.

Graduates Keep Jobs

The record of accomplishment at Blue Ridge proves the effectiveness of the regional approach. As of September 1969, 666 young women had been enrolled; 223 had graduated; 311 were placed in jobs (many before graduation), and 90 percent were still employed in those positions or in better jobs. In fiscal 1969, two corpswomen went on to study as practical nurses and three entered college.

Blue Ridge trains nurse assistants, medical secretaries, ward clerks, and food service workers.

The longest and most difficult course is for medical secretaries. The corpswoman is trained to function effectively as a receptionist, recorder of vital statistics, bookkeeper, medical typist, and medical assistant, either in a doctor's office or in a hospital records room. She spends 660 hours in the classroom and 280 in clinical practice.

Her curriculum embraces typing, receptionist procedures, recordkeeping and filing, billing and banking, medical shorthand, and anatomy and related pathology. She also learns medical terminology and techniques and first aid. Nor is fundamental education neglected. The course includes reading, grammar, spelling, letter writing, and math.

Ward clerks require 460 hours of instruction and practice, nurse assistants 360, and food workers 134.

Two courses that are included at both centers and that are regarded as of great value by the corpswomen are Home and Family Living and World of Work. The first deals with food and nutrition, clothing, buyer and consumer problems, general physical appearance, housing, and child care. Blue Ridge also includes the use of Federal and State aid in this program.

World of Work is an appraisal of skills, aptitudes, and interests; gives concrete help in applying for, obtaining, and holding a job; outlines the responsibilities of employment; explains budgets and the use of money; and emphasizes attitudes and citizenship.

Said one 20-year-old corpswoman, "The World of Work program here helped me to break the tie to my mother's apron strings."

The average corpswoman at both centers is a ninth-grade dropout. But some with better academic backgrounds also need and get help. "The Jersey center was my only chance," said a 21-year-old high school graduate, anxious to get out of a dead-end job in the dietary department of a hospital. "I would like to go on for a nursing degree after I finish training here as a practical nurse."

Jersey City enrollment is 75 percent minorities with the majority Negroes and Puerto Ricans. The center has participants from 32 States and the District of Columbia, but the greater number are from the New York City area.

At Blue Ridge, 50 percent of the participants are Negroes and there was apprehension on their part as well as that of the white girls in the early days of the center. But friendly attitudes and the complete integration of the center has erased any fears.

This was also true at Jersey City, where girls from Vermont, who had never seen a Negro, simply stared. Southern Negroes were at first uncomfortable with northern

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whites but this was a short-lived experience.

In both centers classes are kept small so there can be individual attention and, where necessary, remedial instruction. The staffs have prepared their own textbooks to meet the problems of the hard core who lack basic educational advantages. Frequently, conference classes are conducted and visual aids are used. In addition to classrooms, there are laboratories with medical mannequins, libraries, and infirmaries.

The two centers recruit through welfare agencies, high school guidance counselors, radio, television, newspapers, State employment services, and Women in Community Service (WICS), a volunteer group that works closely with Job Corps. The AFL-CIO Appalachia Council also recruits for Blue Ridge.

Both centers assist in job placement, including job development, arranging interviews, and transportation to job interviews. Blue Ridge graduates prefer to work in small towns or in surroundings that are familiar to their rural upbringing.

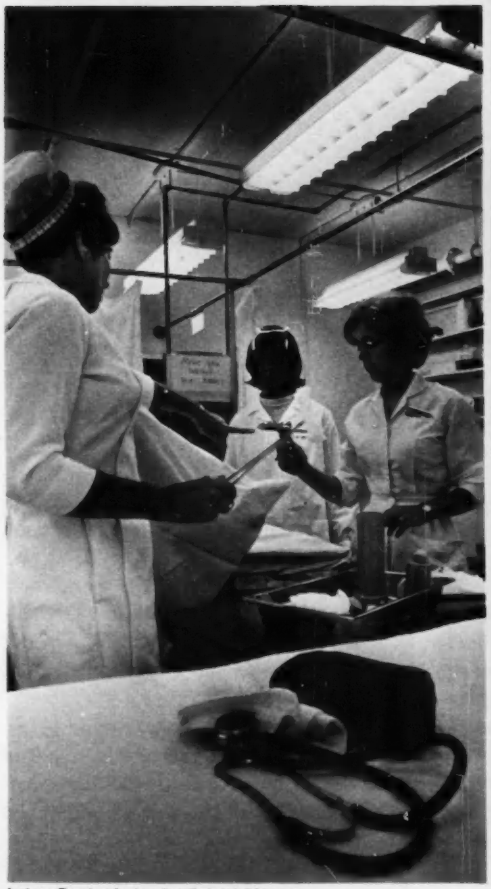
Jersey City follows up graduates employed within a 100-mile radius of the center. Many graduates return to visit instructors, since often the center is the only home they have known.

Blue Ridge takes care of recruitment, placement, and followup and 85 percent of all graduates are placed. The center also closely monitors the progress of graduates by providing evaluation forms for employers, and having members of the staff visit graduates and employers. It also keeps a record on each graduate.

Salaries for Jersey City graduates range from $1.60 to $5 an hour; Blue Ridge graduates earn from $1.40 to $3 an hour.

Blue Ridge graduates have won the respect of professionals in the Appalachian area. Mrs. Janet Kosidlak, director of Nursing Service at the Community Hospital of Roanoke Valley, said: "I have always found the corpswomen well prepared for their positions, and with the proper kind of job and work attitudes."

The most difficult period for most corpswomen is the first 2 to 4 weeks, when the temptation to drop out is greatest. This is due to homesickness and to resentment of the regimentation necessary for an orderly center.



Labor Dept. photos by Robert Moeser

To help the "new girls" over the rough spots, the Jersey City and Blue Ridge centers have "Big Sisters." Blue Ridge also has a "Mamas and Papas" program where each girl has a staff member as a "parent substitute." Another means of keeping the girls with the program is the concentrated effort during orientation. Not only are they acquainted with the center, its objectives and advantages, but special trips are planned for their entertainment.

Many recreational affairs are arranged for the corpswomen to broaden their cultural horizons. In Jersey City there are theater parties, trips to New York City, and social activities in the auditorium, lounges, and recreation rooms. The girls are free to entertain their dates in the lounges and there are two small swimming pools.

At Blue Ridge there is a new separate recreation building, which the corpswomen have christened "The Shack," where they entertain their dates and where planned activities are held. In addition to a gymnasium and auditorium, the girls enjoy an athletic field suitable for all types of sports and all-weather tennis courts. Both centers have training in arts and crafts.

The corpswomen have proved a real asset to the inner city and rural communities. In Jersey City they have helped with the United Community Fund drive and the YWCA, given parties for children in low-income housing projects, taken care of some of the older residents in these projects, and worked at the Jersey City Shelter for Children.

Volunteers from Blue Ridge serve regularly at Southwestern State Hospital where they assist older patients. They have participated in the Junior Chamber of Commerce car wash, helped paint the fence at the local stadium, and given Christmas parties for the welfare children of Smythe County.

In addition to a minimal basic wardrobe, each corpswoman receives approximately $150 during her first year of training and $60 during her second year for clothing. She is given $30 a month for incidental needs. When she completes her training, she receives terminal pay computed at $50 for each month she has been in training. □

Aides STRETCH Health Resources

By JAMES R. GELETKA

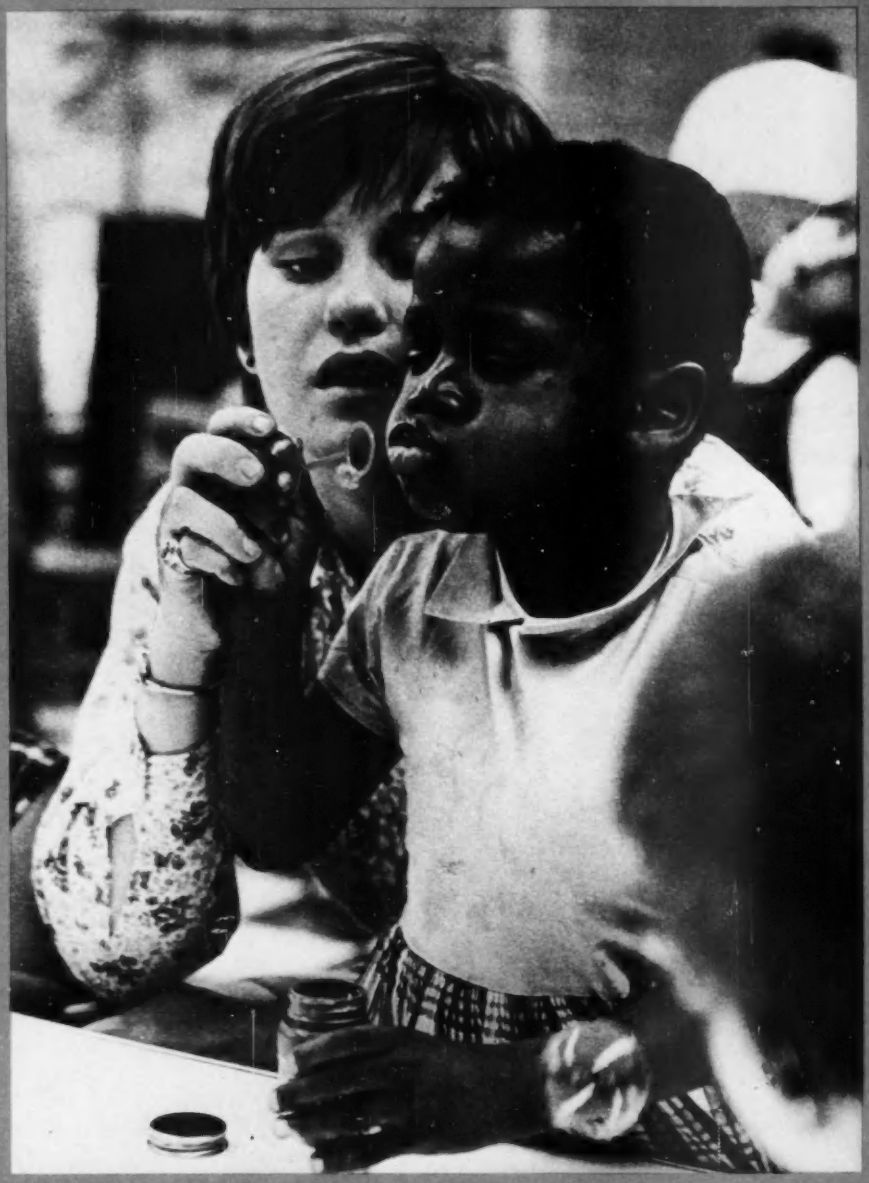
The 66-year-old widow suffered from minor ailments but was essentially healthy. Then she had a stroke. She was taken to Sunnyview Hospital and Rehabilitation Center in Schenectady, N.Y. After several weeks of medical attention at the hospital, she was transferred to the rehabilitation center for therapy.

A physician diagnosed the elderly woman and prescribed her treatment and care. His post-high school training and education required more than 10 years. His prescribed treatment was supervised by a registered nurse, who reported to the physician. The nurse had more than 4 years of professional training. Actual performance of much of the treatment was carried out by aides, whose training was mostly of the on-the-job variety.

This true case history illustrates the growing trend in the rehabilitation and medical fields to use support personnel for routine patient care. Doctors and nurses are in short supply, and their valuable time cannot be used up in chores that can be performed under expert guidance by people with a minimum of training.

As Robert E. Ward, executive director of Sunnyview, explained it:

"We use roughly two supportive persons for each professional registered nurse. If we did not use supportive personnel and staffed each position with a registered nurse, the first problem we would have is a reduction in job satisfaction, since skilled personnel would have to do many tasks which are repetitive in nature and do not challenge their level of professional skills.



Behavior modification aide Pat Knable teaches a youngster to blow bubbles. Play therapy is an important part of the treatment program for children.

"This theoretical staff would need a sum total of an additional 69.5 years of education. (His center has 14 registered nurses and 29 support people.) The added cost would be $3.32 per patient-day . . . and an average of $139.44 for each patient's bill. In our case it would mean recruiting an additional 28 registered nurses which, without question, would not be possible in our community."

The shortage of trained health professionals is a situation with which many Americans are familiar. The U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare reports that there were about 2.8 million people in health occupations in 1966. By 1975 another million will be needed. "To reach this level, the present output of health workers probably should be doubled by 1975," according to a statement by HEW's Public Health Service.

The shortage is particularly severe in some of the rehabilitation specialties. The American Physical Therapy Association, for example, regards a ratio of 1 physical therapist to 10,000 people as desirable. The present supply of these professionals, who require 5 years of higher education and training, is about 1 to

Mr. Geletka is field coordinator for the training programs sponsored by the International Association of Rehabilitation Centers.

A physical therapy aide helps a crippled child put on a leg brace.

Rehabilitation aides assist a patient receiving hydrotherapy treatment.

28,000 population in this country. Nor does the shortage show signs of abating quickly. A special committee to study the problem reports that in 1966 less than 1,000 persons graduated from professional physical therapy schools. The committee predicted that the number of graduates would rise to 1,200 annually by 1975 but that retirements would reduce the annual increase in the supply of professionals to about 600.

The situation is even worse in other specialties. The American Speech and Hearing Association revealed 3 years ago that 40,000 speech pathologists and audiologists were needed to serve the 9.3 million Americans with speech and hearing disorders. The number of active professionals at that time was only 6,200.

For more than 4 years now, the U.S. Department of Labor has been funding the training of rehabilitation aides in more than 50 different occupations through contracts with the Association of Rehabilitation Centers. (Early in November 1969 the Association merged with the National Association of Sheltered Workshops and Homebound Programs and became the International Association of Rehabilitation Facilities, representing more than 600 centers and workshops here and abroad.) The Labor Department has invested more than $1.3 million and the U.S. Office of Education has contributed nearly $170,000, all under the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA).

By October 24, 1969, some 2,676 people had entered training. Of these, 316, or less than 12 percent, dropped out. A study of those recruited since January 1, 1967, showed that 51.7 percent were trained in occupations which offer high potential for upgrading and for new careers. These included physical therapy; psychiatric, occupational therapy, and child care aides; and surgical technical workers.

Another 38.9 percent were in occupations such as nursing attendant and nurse aide which offer moderate opportunities for upward mobility. Only 9.4 percent of the trainees were in jobs with little or no chance for moving ahead.

In some cases, which cannot be regarded as typical, trainees have made great progress. Gwen Moore, 32, had been a nurse aide for a number of years at low pay when she entered the program late in 1966. She was trained as a behavior modification aide at the Home for Crippled Children in Pittsburgh. She moved rapidly up the job ladder, and today supervises a team of child care aides at the Home. Though she has no college training, she is fulfilling responsibilities normally carried out by a graduate nurse or a specialist with a bachelor's degree—and she is earning comparable pay.

New York University Medical Center reported last June that four of its physical therapy aide graduates had matriculated at the university for its Bachelor of Arts Physical Therapy program, and three more were preparing to enroll. Another graduate enrolled in the Downstate Medical College's Physical Therapy program.

The project has received wide and growing support from rehabilitation institutions. The first contract gave only on-the-job training. It ran from July 1, 1965 to December 31, 1966, and trained employees in 20 facilities in 10 States. This number was expanded to 47 facilities

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Aides *continued*

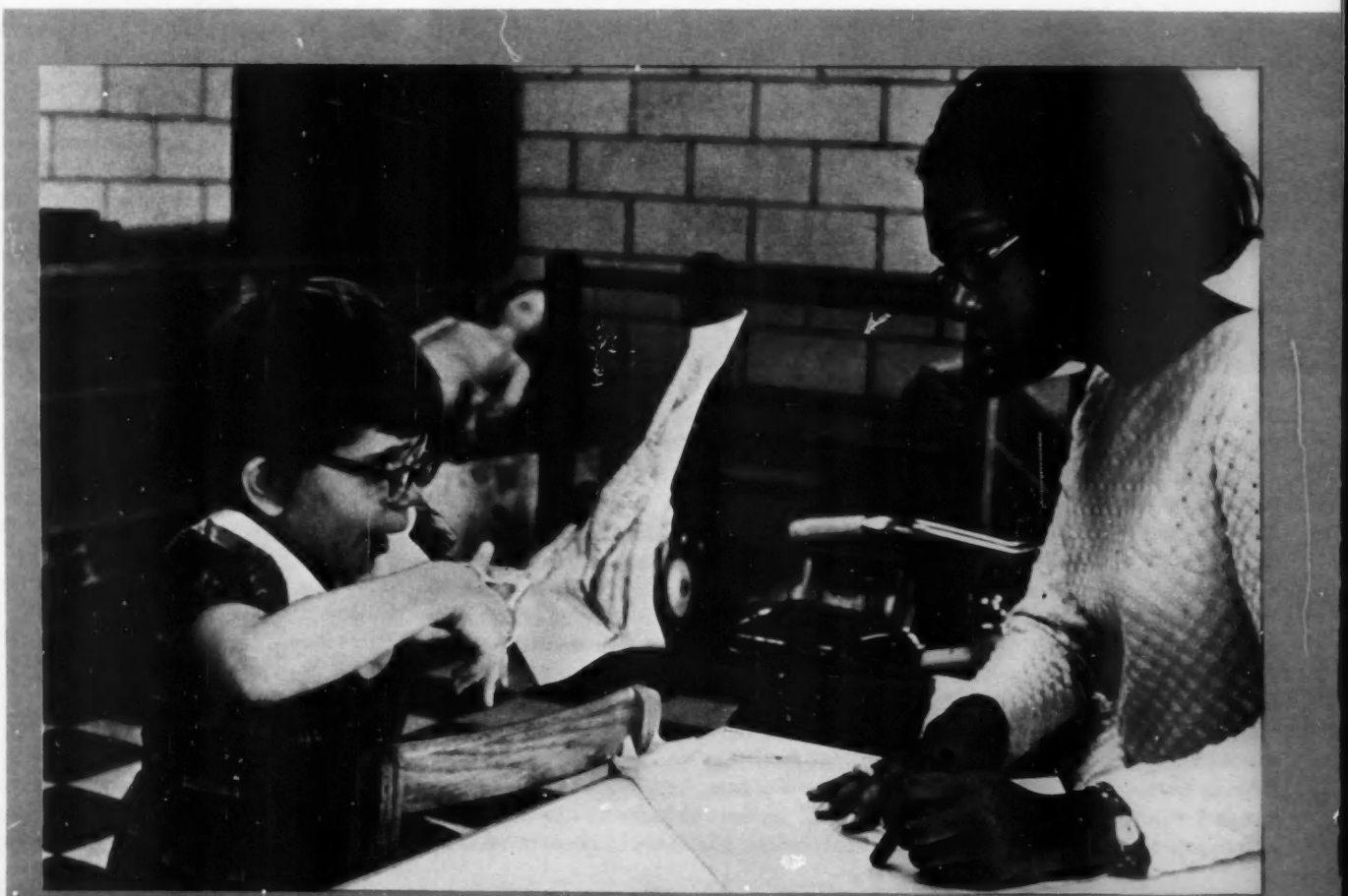
in 17 States for the second contract which provided classroom instruction as well as on-the-job training, and ran from January 1, 1967 to December 31, 1969. A new contract from January 1, 1970 to January 30, 1971 calling for the training of 500 more people has been negotiated by the Department of Labor.

The reason for the project's popularity may seem obvious: It reimburses rehabilitation facilities for the cost of training that has to be done anyhow. But the training would not be done or done nearly as well without the Federal contracts. Many of the facilities previously trained aides only when a professional staff member could spare time from his regular duties to do it. Even then, trainees usually were taught only those skills necessary to perform the task at hand. In other facilities, programs were thwarted by professionals who feared their duties and responsibilities would be usurped by aides with formal training.

The MDTA contract enabled the Association of Rehabilitation Centers to establish training standards for, and give technical assistance to, participating health facilities. These facilities were given the money and the incentive to establish sound training programs with uniform structure and well-defined objectives. Professionals were assigned on a regularly scheduled basis to instruct the trainees. And their fears regarding the use of supportive personnel were allayed by letting these professionals help plan and promote the training programs.

Here are some benefits of the training program to date:

- Professionals are using their time more efficiently. The Dallas Medical School, where courses began 2 years ago, reports about 6,380 more physical therapy treatments are being given each month because of revised practices.
- Patients are getting better care. Ten nursing homes in the Dallas area are now able to offer physical therapy services for the first time.
- Staffs have been improved. For the first time, a large majority of the personnel at the Home for Crippled Children in Pittsburgh has had formal training. St. Francis General Hospital and Rehabilitation Institute in the same city reports that "the therapeutic judgmental value of aides . . . was greatly increased."
- Trainees are making more money. The Federal minimum wage for hospitals is now $1.30 an hour. The program requires that all recruits be paid $1.60 an hour. Some earn up to $2.20 during training and afterwards up to $3 an hour. A survey of 342 psychiatric aides trained in Illinois and Kentucky showed boosts of 13 to 21 percent over pretraining salaries.
- Trainees are more satisfied with their jobs. "Before taking the course, we helped the therapists but it was just a job," said one recruit. "After (training), the work took on meaning. I could give a reason for my work and why I was doing what I was doing."
- Turnover has been reduced. At the University Hospital of Cleveland, attrition among personnel in training programs was reduced from 33 to 15 percent. The hospital attributes the reduction to



Scissors, paper, and crayons help Deborah Thompson guide a 5-year-old along the path of positive behavior.

the Federal money which permitted it to lengthen its training sessions. The Home for Crippled Children in Pittsburgh reported annual turnover of 40 to 50 percent had been reduced to less than 15 percent.

In short, everyone benefits. Patients receive more services. Professionals are relieved of less than professional tasks. Rehabilitation centers have established new formal training programs and discovered a new and improved source of manpower. And trainees have been upgraded in status and pay.

Here is how the project works on the local level:

To qualify, a rehabilitation facility applies to the local State employment service office for certification of need. Once this is obtained, a representative from ARC visits the facility to help supply manpower needs, develop training plans, recruit trainees, and coordinate the efforts of all agencies involved.

Candidates are recruited through the employment service, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, newspapers, and word-of-mouth. Each applicant is certified by the employment service as being unemployed, underemployed, or disadvantaged. Trainees are assured of continued employment if they successfully complete the program.

The institutions that do the hiring and training are reimbursed $30 per week per trainee for on-the-job training. Federal money also is paid for instructional supplies, rental of training equipment, teachers' salaries, and tuition for special courses.

Through cooperative programs, some facilities have been able to extend their training beyond their own corridors. An excellent example of this kind of cooperation took place at St. Francis General Hospital and Rehabilitation Institute in Pittsburgh.

St. Francis has extensive modern facilities for physical restoration. Along with a large staff of both physical and occupational therapists, it also employs several aides in these categories. Since the attrition rate is very low in the supportive occupations, it was impossible for St. Francis to employ more than one or two trainees at a time even though the training staff and facilities were capable of handling many more students.

Arrangements were made to provide training at St. Francis for employees of 14 smaller hospitals and convalescent homes. Trainees were recruited and employed by the individual facilities and then sent to St. Francis for 8 weeks of primarily classroom instruction in theory and skills. Emphasis was placed on the "why" aspects of physical therapy so trainees would understand the reason behind each theory, skill, or technique they were required to learn. Clinical areas of the hospital provided ample opportunity for practical application of classroom work and gave trainees experience in working with many types of disabilities.

Following this phase of the program, trainees returned to their individual facilities for 8 more weeks of on-job training, supervised by registered physical therapists and coordinated through St. Francis.

The benefits of this approach are considerable. Trainees learn marketable skills, the value of which is recognized by many area facilities, thereby increasing job mobility. Trainees from the various hospitals and convalescent homes broaden their knowledge by exchanging experiences. And maximum advantage is taken of the specialized facilities and staff of the institution offering the training.

As a result of the St. Francis training effort in 1969, there are now 20 highly trained and skilled physical therapy aides working in secure and rewarding hospital positions in the Pittsburgh area.

The manpower implications of the project are obvious. Here is a way to train large numbers of men and women, including the disadvantaged, to alleviate the shortage of support personnel in health care in general, and rehabilitation services in particular, throughout the country. A physical therapist generally requires 5 years of post-high school professional training and education. So does a speeech therapist. An occupational therapist requires 4 years. Social workers and rehabilitation counselors generally need 6 years. Some physical and occupational therapy assistants are trained in 2 years. The training for the supportive personnel in this project requires only 6 to 26 weeks.

There are, of course, limitations to such training. Professionals cannot be manufactured in 26 weeks. Aides require continual supervision in their work. A typical physical therapy aide carries out treatment prescribed by a physician and interpreted by a physical therapist. He prepares the patient for treatment, makes the equipment ready, helps the therapist apply treatment, makes sure the patient performs his exercises correctly, and assists in housekeeping duties. He does not treat patients on his own initiative, nor does he try to prescribe treatment. To protect the public and to assure the integrity of the professions, aides must be viewed as supplements to, not substitutes for, fully trained specialists.

At the same time, there is growing recognition that within these limits, supportive personnel can play a larger role than they have in the past. The average hospital aide's job has traditionally been one of drudgery. Aides have been offered little or no chance for upward mobility. They have received no training or inducement to go to school. Many of them are elderly women, most are black, and their pay is modest. If health and manpower agencies do not reverse this trend through training and upgrading, America will one day find it has created a black ghetto in its health facilities. □

A patient doing ambulation exercises gets support and guidance from a physical therapy aide.

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A School Counselor Looks at the Employment Service

By MICHAEL P. ROCHE

Last summer I had an unnerving experience. I worked for the Illinois State Employment Service. Let me add hastily that this is not an indictment of the employment service. Unlike Mark Anthony and Nikita Khrushchev, I come to praise, not to bury. The office in which I worked, a Youth Opportunity Center (YOC) in Chicago's Loop area, was doing a good job. What unsettled me was that I soon discovered that I knew virtually nothing about public employment service operations—and I was a professional vocational counselor in a large Chicago area high school.

And to make the communications gap almost total, the employment service people I met were as unaware of some parts of my operation as I was of theirs. Yet we were in the same town, presumably in the same business, and serving the same people—youthful jobseekers.

I applied for a summer job at the employment service because I wanted to round out my education with practical experience. At the age of 31, I already had plenty of theoretical training about the job market and career preparation: Master's degrees in education and vocational guidance and counseling, 4 years of high school teaching, a year recruiting high school teachers, 3 years as a parochial high school guidance director and, immediately before my stint with the employment service, a year as a vocational counselor for a suburban Chicago public high school.

I knew about different vocations and the world of work—out of books. I had learned—secondhand—what employers expected of prospective workers. I was familiar—in theory—with the employment service's operations. I had heard about the antipoverty and manpower programs of the Federal Government, but I did not know how they worked. Though some were poor, all my students were white and I had the impression these pro-

Mr. Roche is a doctoral candidate in guidance and counseling at Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, Ill.

grams were for Negroes and other minorities. My sole contact with the employment service was the annual visit of their specialists to my school to give vocational aptitude tests to the students.

My school was near Chicago, with an all-white enrollment of about 2,000. The immediate neighborhood was highly industrial and the students were not very much interested in higher education. Their parents were working people and there were very few college degrees among them. They were satisfied if their offspring made it safely through high school, and did not seem overly concerned if they dropped out.

The school's one realistic contact with the world of work was an education cooperative program, involving about 60 youngsters in their junior and senior years. Typically, they spent half their time in the classroom and half on the job. Generally speaking, they were being prepared for reasonably good jobs. The boys were being groomed for semiskilled blue collar work in factories and automotive repair shops, and the girls for posts at child care centers and dentists' offices and for general office work in industry.

Other than that, we had our annual "Career Day," replete with speakers who told us about business, industry, and the professions, but who rarely influenced a student's decision beyond the day itself.

Few Jobs Obtained

Most of the students who came to me were ready to drop out of school, either to go in the military service or into vocational or technical training. Most of them were looking for a job. I asked them why they wanted to go to work. I asked what they wanted to do. I tried to get them to develop their own self-concepts. I tried to persuade them to talk to someone in the particular line of work they thought they would like, or in one of the professions. But I seldom got one of them a job.

During my 10 weeks at the YOC, I found out with a mixture of delight and respect that employment service people were doing a lot better than my school counselor colleagues and I in helping youngsters get jobs. To my surprise, I learned that the employment service, though it could not help them all, was the best place for youngsters to go for help in finding a summer job. After the first wave of summer jobseekers passed through, I managed to catch references by the other counselors to Job Corps, Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA), National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB), Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC), and the Concentrated Employment Program (CEP). It became apparent to me that these were not remote programs to be fitted neatly into some general textbook discussion of the Federal manpower effort. They were living realities, offering jobs and training—and usually an early paycheck—for people who, despite their youth, had come to a dead end.

I watched with interest and admiration the operations of the professional at the desk next to mine. Over the years, she had built up a string of contacts with employers, and she was an artist in persuading them to hire young men and women with little or no experience or training. She also knew where the training opportunities were and she had a wide acquaintanceship with rehabilitation programs and personnel. She had made it her business to know everyone, in brief, who might be of service to her young clients.

One day I was having difficulty with a 20-year-old Puerto Rican boy. His English was very poor and he was deaf to any attempt on my part, once I perceived his basic intelligence, to talk about education. He wanted a job and money; he was not interested in long-range goals. I appealed to my colleague. She picked up the phone and called an acquaintance who was manager of a local factory and began her "sales pitch." She smoothly brushed aside all his objections and a few hours later the young Puerto Rican had a new job paying well above the minimum wage.

I kept in touch with him and after he had a little money in his pocket and had regained his self-confidence, he was willing to sit down and discuss his educational future with me. It was obvious he would not be satisfied permanently with factory work. We met three times. I counseled and encouraged him. As his motivation and ambition grew, his English improved and he found another job, as a research aid for a physician. Today, he is carefully saving his money to go to college.

I could not help but reflect what would have happened had I encountered this young man in a school setting a few weeks earlier. I might well have discussed with him the opportunities for education while he sat there overwhelmed with the immediate need for a few dollars in his pocket. I would have referred him to some "service" with which I was vaguely acquainted and moved on to the next case.

Many Programs Available

My experience at the YOC made it clear that I was not the only school counselor unaware of what the employment service had to offer. I asked the youth who came to me how they had learned about the employment service. Out of the hundreds I interviewed, only 5 percent referred to the school or someone in the school as their source of information. And of this 5 percent, practically none knew precisely what the employment service offered.

Since I did not know either, I set about to learn. I discovered, first of all, a lot of literature on the subject, none of which I had ever seen before. My office had a full range of U.S. Department of Labor pamphlets and brochures explaining in relatively simple language the Neighborhood Youth Corps, JOBS, CEP, Job Corps, apprenticeship, and all the other manpower programs. I learned about Opportunity Line, a job-finding television program, from the ILLINOIS LABOR REVIEW.

I found the location of the employment service's various offices specializing in recruiting for the metal trades, clerical and

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sales, general industrial, and hotel and restaurant service, and made a number of placements in these fields.

All the time I was muttering to myself: If I had only known about this earlier. If I had only known about the CEP which through its 2 weeks of orientation directed towards job and training could be most helpful to youngsters failing in school or in the job market. If I had only known that a police record is no longer a barrier to many jobs—that the NAB forms specified that men and women with records would be hired.

My mind flashed back to a junior I had counseled in school. I had commiserated with him on how poor the job possibilities are for a 17-year-old who wanted part-time night work. Now I sat less than 20 feet from the desk of a lady who was an expert on the subject and who could give me an up-to-the-minute list of part-time night jobs available for this young man.

I also thought of a young lady, a junior, who came to my office at school and told me she was going to drop out. She was doing badly in English and social studies and had decided to go to work. Under my prompting, she decided to give school another try and the teacher made a special effort to help her. It was useless. Her verbal skills were too deficient and she dropped out at the age of 17. She found work as a waitress. When she paid a final visit to me some time later, I frankly did not know how to help her.

Today I know the precise person in the YOC who could handle this girl. If she came to me now I would simply call a certain employment interviewer I worked with this summer, and my former client might today be an MDTA trainee studying to be a licensed practical nurse.

One day in utter frustration I asked one of my fellow counselors at the YOC, "Don't you guys ever get to the schools?" "Sure," he said, "but I never felt welcome."

I am sure he was not welcome. That is one of the reasons that it is axiomatic today that the schools are not doing an adequate job in preparing youth for careers. Too many schools have no effective connection with the employment service or with any organization which could familiarize them with current developments in the world of work. Like myself before last summer, too many school counselors have no practical knowledge of what business and industry expect of job applicants. Their counseling and advice is therefore far from realistic and often, I believe, quite useless.

More Work-Study Urged

This state of affairs need not continue. A number of measures can be taken to enable the schools and the employment service to do a better job serving young men and women:

- Expand cooperative education. Most youngsters are not going to college and do not want to. They therefore need less academic training and more practical preparation for entering the job market. The best preparation is a mixed program of work and study. At least 10 percent of all high school students should be enrolled in such a program. In the inner city the percentage should be much higher.

- Drop Career Days. They are irrelevant. They arouse all kinds of false expectations among the student's and faculty. And they help delude school authorities that they really have a meaningful program for preparing people for careers. Career Day stirs a lot of excitement and consumes everyone's time for the elaborate preparations. The climax is a string of speeches by well-intentioned business and professional men that have little bearing on how a youngster can prepare himself for a job. The time wasted on Career Day should be devoted to job development and preparation.

- Have high schools and colleges warn potential liberal arts majors that they may not be as well off in the job market as people who major in more practical subjects or who go into the professions. I tried without success for several days last summer to find a job for an English major. My colleagues and I finally placed him—at a miserable starting wage in view of his 4 years of college.

- Put more high school counselors to work at employment service offices throughout the Nation during the summer. It is done in Illinois and, I understand, in Wisconsin. It should become a nationwide practice. I know of no better way to alert counselors to what is going on in the working world. Whatever the shortcomings of the employment services in the various States, the fact remains that their local offices have become the focal point for job placement and for recruiting the disadvantaged and others for the vast array of Federal manpower training programs.

- Bring the employment service into the schools. A program of cooperation between schools and the employment service has been in existence in this country since 1942. But from my own experience, I think the program exists largely on paper. Employment service specialists came to our school and gave the youngsters various tests measuring their aptitudes, interests, and abilities. Whatever information they obtained, they could have had from my office. We had already tested the youngsters ourselves. The employment service efforts were a duplication of ours.

What is needed is closer cooperation between employment service specialists and high school guidance counselors in working out career programs for each youngster. This could best be done by having employment service station at least one professional, on a full- or substantial part-time basis, in each high school.

This is already being done in many cities; in New York, for example, the employment service has counselors stationed in 56 high schools. It should be common practice in every sizable city in the Nation. □

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data firm finds answer in ghetto

By Sidney Rosendorf

Can disadvantaged inner-city women master exacting jobs in the complex computer field? One company is proving they can.

In a suburban area of Washington, D.C., a fast-growing, 2-year-old data conversion firm is hiring and training young women from the inner city to do its data typing work. Many of the women are high school dropouts, and most have little or no job experience. Yet they are learning how to prepare complicated material for use in high-speed computers.

The company, Sequential Computer Corporation, began the project in 1968 with a hiring pledge to the Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) Program, the nationwide effort directed by the National Alliance of Businessmen to put the hard-core unemployed on private industry payrolls. Sequential has since signed two contracts to receive supporting funds made available by the U.S. Department of Labor to cover the extra costs of training the disadvantaged.

Now, 19 months after the first trainees reported for work, the company has developed a skilled team of data typists. The firm has profited—and 80 young women, many of them previously considered unemployable, are moving up to good paying jobs with a secure future.

Sequential transfers information from cards, plates, and other sources to compact magnetic tape for use in computerized data-processing systems. It requires employees who can type a wide variety of source material on special forms with skill, accuracy, and good judgment.

But where do you find a sizable group of people for exacting work like that? The company first tried hiring suburban housewives, high school graduates, and temporary workers. Turnover was prohibitive. Then the firm heard about the JOBS Program—and determined to find out whether women from Washington's inner city, if carefully trained, could do the job.

In June 1968, 60 young Negro women, recruited by the Washington Concentrated Employment Program (WCEP), were hired, with the understanding that they would be placed in permanent jobs at the end of the training period. "They were a pretty frightened group," a company executive recalls. "Most of them had never worked before, except as gift wrappers or counter clerks. They had no idea of the business world—and little understanding that an employee has to work in order to be paid. They were afraid of responsibility and came to us with many problems."

But the experiment paid off. In a short time, the trainees—most of them

Mr. Rosendorf is a freelance writer.

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Labor Dept. photos by Billy Rose

in their twenties—became careful, self-confident workers. Production increased as training sharpened their skills. Encouraged by the performance of the first group, the company launched a program for 60 more trainees early this year. Turnover has been relatively low: 80 of the 120 women hired under the two Labor Department contracts are still at their jobs, and many have received promotions. Today, Sequential's data typist staff—70 Negro and 10 Spanish American women earning up to $2.65 an hour—is composed entirely of disadvantaged inner-city residents.

There were problems, of course—training problems, personality problems, day-care problems. But the company expected difficulties when it decided to hire a large group of young ghetto women. And by and large the problems have been solved.

From the start, the company tried to establish a close rapport with the trainees. When a new 7,000-square-foot plant was built, they were consulted on the plans, and every effort was made to create an attractive setting

that would appeal to the women. In the new plant, they now work in a spacious, high-ceilinged room with wide aisles, drapes along one wall, and piped-in music. They relax in a pleasant, carpeted social lounge.

"We felt our first trainees needed a little coddling when they started here," a company executive says. "We knew they were apprehensive. We saw that they had never had an opportunity to form regular work habits. So we were lenient if they arrived a little late in the

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morning. We gave them extra time off to cash their paychecks at the bank. We loaned them money in emergencies. We arranged legal help, day-care help, and personal counseling. Above all, we wanted them to feel that they were a part of our company and that the company cared about them. In a short time, we could see a change in their outlook, a new feeling of responsibility."

Later, when more young women were added to the staff under the second Labor Department contract, the company found that the new trainees needed less individual attention. They were ready and eager to take on responsibilities. Although they came from the same ghetto background as the first group of trainees, they had been more carefully screened and tested by WCEP to determine their aptitude for demanding data typing work. Then, too, they had the advantage of entering a going program and could count on the help of the women already trained by the company.

New employees were trained for 15 months under the first contract. Under the second contract this has been cut to 12 months. The company was reimbursed $3,412 for each trainee under the first contract and is receiving $3,366 per trainee under the second.

"We approached the second group of trainees differently," says Germaine Daly, the firm's production supervisor. "At the start, we told them that this is a business organization, and that they were to be at work on time and to observe company regulations. We explained that they would be working as part of a team on difficult, complex assignments. The company would help them, and the employees already trained would assist them, too. But we made it clear that we expected a lot out of each new trainee."

How does Sequential turn ghetto women with little education and job experience into dependable workers in the computer field? The process begins with careful orientation, followed by intensive training and candid evaluation. Before on-the-job instruction begins, each new group of trainees has a week of orientation at the WCEP center in downtown Washington. There, they meet the supervisors who will work with them at the plant. They learn about the company, what it does, and what their jobs will be. And the WCEP staff points out the importance of good grooming and good hygiene.

After orientation, the young women go to the plant to begin training. They learn to operate electric typewriters, to increase their typing speed and accuracy, and to follow detailed instructions in preparing a variety of source material for the computer.

"It's not easy work," says Regina White, who started as a trainee early in 1969. "We change formats with each new job. But if you follow directions and have a real desire to learn, you find that you can do it."

Since it is important in their work that they think and communicate clearly, the trainees attend remedial education classes in oral and written communications conducted by the company.

Every 3 months, the production and training supervisors meet to grade each trainee's performance on an evaluation sheet. Is her attendance good? Has she improved her skills? Does she show interest in her job? How well does she get along with her coworkers? Later, each trainee is invited to a frank private discussion of her work. Her achievements are pointed out, and suggestions are made to help her overcome any deficiencies.

To encourage self-improvement, the data typists are organized into teams composed of 12 workers. Each team includes experienced workers and new trainees and is headed by an employee promoted because of a good record. The supervisor checks the production of her team, and the women keep a close watch on the performance of their teammates. If a team member wastes time or keeps a messy desk, she hears about it from the others. If she puts a soft drink bottle on her desk—which might spill and ruin a whole day's paperwork—she is told off in short order. "They're a lot harder on one another than we are on them," says Mrs. Daly.

Counseling and consultation also are important factors in the program's success. The company training staff advises employees privately on their personal and financial difficulties. Guest speakers have been brought in to talk to them about subjects of importance in their daily lives. A health department official discussed diet and nutrition, a police officer talked about narcotics, and a bank executive described the pitfalls of easy credit.

The firm encourages employees to make suggestions and participate in company decisions. According to Mrs. Daly, "The girls are consulted on everything—the arrangement of office furniture, the timing of lunch hours, the equipment they want in their social

lounge, even the music that's played for them while they work."

Considerable emphasis is placed on training employees in new skills and giving them an opportunity to advance. Many are now learning special keypunch procedures. And the entire data typing staff recently returned to class to study a new system that allows typed information to be transferred by direct wire into a computer.

In the past year, 12 former trainees have become team supervisors, and two have been made floor supervisors.

"Three months after I started here," says Mrs. Hazel Marshall, who joined the company as a trainee late in 1968, "I was promoted to team supervisor. Five months later, I was moved up to floor supervisor and put in charge of five teams of girls."

Trainees who started at $1.75 an hour are now earning $2.35, and supervisors are drawing up to $2.65. As experienced data typists, they can look ahead to earning $3.00 an hour or more.

From the start of the program, the need for adequate day-care facilities has been a major problem. Four out of five of the employees from the inner city are the only support of their children, most of whom are of preschool age. The company reports that the lack of day care is the chief reason for employee absenteeism and turnover. With few centers available in Washington—and long waiting lists for openings—employees have to turn to relatives or friends for babysitting. Often, this is an undependable arrangement, and a number of the women have had to give up their jobs to be with their children.

Donald B. Cory, vice president and general manager, would like to set up the firm's own day-care center for employees. A building is available nearby that could be converted into a center accommodating up to 90 children. Cory has in mind a complete educational center for 4- to 6-year-olds —with trained teachers, a registered nurse, and one staff member for each five children. The mothers would pay a small weekly fee based on their salary.

The company is prepared to put up part of the money for the center, but because of the high cost involved it also needs government or other funds, which it has not yet been able to obtain. Transportation is an added difficulty. To bring the children out to the plant from downtown Washington by private bus is expensive, and by public transportation the trip is too long and tiring for young children.

Despite the day-care problem, Cory remains sold on the value of the training program.

"We've all learned from this project. Our company has found that disadvantaged women can become good workers in our complex field. We've discovered new ways to develop the abilities of our employees—and we now have a data typing staff that we can count on.

"And the young women have gained in self-confidence. Just a little while ago, they had menial jobs or no jobs at all. Now, they're proud of their work in the specialized computer industry. They have a real feeling of belonging —and a loyalty to the company, too. We hope to keep it that way." □

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The Hard Core and the Puritan Ethic

By R. A. Hudson Rosen

Do they want to work? What are their occupational aspirations and how much hope do they have of realizing them? What do they look for in a job, and what will motivate them to stay on a job once it is found?

These and similar questions often are asked about the hard-core unemployed, and especially about inner-city Negroes who constitute such a disproportionate share of the hard-core unemployed. And despite a variety of manpower programs placing such individuals in permanent jobs, the view persists among many people that inner-city Negroes lack a desire for steady jobs, that work plays a minor role in their lives, and that as soon as they get a little money from a job they stop working.

Are these views an accurate reflection of the attitudes and philosophy of inner-city blacks? A series of unstructured, in-depth interviews with a group of inner-city Negro men hired by a large mid-western utility company indicates they are not. Twenty-two of forty-nine hired were interviewed as part of a larger research study founded by the Manpower Administration on the factors involved in achieving stable employment of the hard-core unemployed.

The blacks hired by the utility company were between 21 and 50 years of age. All had been inner-city residents for more than a year and none had worked more than 6 months in the previous 2 years. About 25 percent had criminal records; half had failed to complete the 10th grade. Many central city Negroes with irregular work records and histories of considerable unemployment have similar backgrounds.

Mrs. Rosen is a research associate in the psychology department at Wayne State University.

All of the men interviewed who stayed with the company and more than two-thirds of those who left talked about work in a way that revealed its central importance to their lives. Only four of those interviewed, all of them among the group that was terminated (left the company regardless of the reason), indicated that work was peripheral in their scheme of living.

Those to whom work was important made clear that they did not want to jeopardize their jobs, even though in some cases their behavior did just that. One man who was later discharged reported:

> **My wife, she depend on me, and I'm depending on the job. That's why I can't be missing no days and being late. . . . If I lose this job, I don't know, it'll be a different story.**

He was buying a house and knew he would lose it if he lost the job.

A man who kept his job said:

> **All you got to do is to be there and do your work right and that's what I've been trying to do ever since I've been at ————. . . . I get up every morning at 5 o'clock to catch the bus to work. . . . I don't take no chances to ride with some guy. Some morning he might not come up.**

Several men felt that getting the job at the utility company was a major turning point in their lives.

It is perhaps significant that the four to whom work was secondary were single, with no dependents. All had been in prison, and they felt either that they were particularly handicapped in terms of job opportunities or that they had been deprived of many of the good experiences of life because of the years they had been in prison. As one of them, who took the job to please his parole officer rather than out of economic need, explained:

> **I couldn't get my fill for everything I've missed. . . . When I get to partying sometimes, I just party and party. And if I don't feel good I'll call them (the company) and tell them I don't want to go to work, man. That's all. Cause I feel like I was justified . . . I had been deprived of so many things down here . . . good food . . . looking at a woman walking down the street.**

But even this man added:

> **I like to work, I do like to work, I want to work. . . . I like to do work all day long, too, but the type of work that I want to do. . . . The free world is still beautiful to me. And I'd like to stay out here. But I'd like to be out here doing something that I like to do. If I can't, it's just miserable. I might as well be back in prison if I do something I didn't want to do.**

When these four men talked about their aspirations they aimed high, although they had no concrete plans for achieving their goals and all were high school dropouts. They wanted to do creative, artistic things, as well as work with people. This attitude contrasted with that of the men who remained with the company. Their aspirations were focused on their present job, and many of them had scaled down their aspirations considerably since their youth.

Friendly, congenial relations with coworkers seemed to be essential to job satisfaction both for men who stayed with the company and for those who left. More than three-quarters of those interviewed brought up relations with fellow workers as a significant aspect of work. When asked how the job was going, frequently an interviewee's first comment dealt with how he was treated by coworkers.

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Some reported difficulties with fellow workers as a major shortcoming of the job. Part of the troubles were seen as personal, part racial, and part due to a stigma associated with being "hard core."

One worker who experienced considerable tension on the job because he felt emotionally isolated explained that his coworkers were not relaxed with him because of his race. He said that they tried too hard to show that they were "good Joes":

Sometimes they would confront you with it and try to make you think that 'I had a colored fellow working with me,' or 'I went to school with this colored fellow,' 'we was in the Navy together,' . . . I guess he thinks I'm an idiot. . . . He don't have to tell me. I can see if a guy's OK.

Other men, however, expressed pleasure from the beginning with the personal relationships among employees. One was surprised and pleased that employees did not have arguments with each other. This was a new experience for him.

Several men talked about their work group in terms of a family and, in some cases, actually seemed to seek from the job the warmth and closeness that a family ideally is thought to provide.

The extreme emphasis on interpersonal relations by these men is somewhat at variance with what has been found for workers as a whole. While social aspects of a job contribute strongly to both job satisfaction and dissatisfaction, in other studies it has ranked far below a number of other factors in general importance. Social aspects of the job may be particularly important to the hard core because they have been accustomed to look for their satisfactions more in human relations than in occupational success.

Another crucial element in job satisfaction, brought up spontaneously by three-fifths of the men, was treatment by management, especially foremen. They talked in terms of whether company personnel cared about the employees, as well as whether supervisors were racially prejudiced or suspicious of them because they were part of a hard-core program.

Some reported that their foremen "rode" them consistently, and one described the effect:

I'm beginning to believe, myself, now, that I can't do nothing right, and I know darn well, I says, look, what man is there that can't do common labor? . . . They think I'm a nut or something because when they sit up there and criticize what I do, I laugh. I laugh to keep from crying, you might say, because I know it be wrong, but then what can I say to the supervisor?

Others were very pleased with the foremen's treatment and were grateful for their patience and interest. As one put it:

They certainly do care. I was injured a couple of months ago. A couple of the bosses came out to my house and inquired about me. When I went back to work, they were concerned.

It is not surprising that the men were deeply concerned about foremen attitudes. In their struggle to acclimate themselves to occupational roles, the foreman was pivotal. His responses were crucial in how attendance problems or learning difficulties were handled. In view of their past experiences, the hard-core workers' occupational self-esteem was bound to be shaky. Considerable bolstering by management was essential to their emotional comfort on the job.

These men were not unique in seeking appreciation from supervision, however. This factor has consistently ranked high in studies of job satisfaction.

As with other workers, the men studied were most concerned about money when they felt they were not getting enough. Three-fifths of them talked about wages. One of the reasons frequently given for quitting past jobs was inadequate pay. The importance of wages also was revealed by the reasons given for dropping out of school to get jobs. They talked almost entirely in terms of their desire for money to help their families or to get decent clothes and other material possessions. When discussing present aspirations, many of them also talked in terms of money, or the things money will buy—a house, a car, being able to provide for their children. As one man, whose job had enabled him to move his family out of the slums, put it:

I don't have nothing to worry about now. As long as I take care of that job, it'll take care of me . . . it wasn't too safe in that neighborhood. People were getting killed every other day. They feared to walk sometimes at night. . . . This neighborhood I am in now, nothing like that goes on. . . . Now you can go . . . where you want to go, just quiet and peaceful. . . . So that makes it much better for the kids and me and my wife.

Well over half of the employees brought up working conditions. While a few indicated that they liked their jobs because they were not too heavy or hard, most of those who mentioned working conditions were dissatisfied. They did not like outdoor work, which was hot in the summer and cold in the winter. They did not like jobs which were moved from location to location. They did not like heavy, dirty, menial work, especially when they felt there was no chance to advance.

A number of studies have shown that working conditions are not a relatively important factor to most workers. Many employers, however, tend to give inner-city Negro men the least pleasant of available jobs and this may have contributed to the importance placed on this factor by the utility company workers interviewed. One of the men described his past experience in the automobile companies:

We had to take what they give you. . . . In the summertime they had me inside, taking care of stock. They used to have white boys outside, but in the wintertime they changed it over, put you on the outside and put them inside.

Another salient element of a good job was the chance for advancement. As has been noted frequently, the hard core, perhaps even more than other workers, share the American dream of "getting ahead" and will not willingly settle for dead-end jobs. Half of those interviewed specifically indicated that a chance to advance and perhaps to learn some new skills was important to them.

One man said that the job with the utility company was the first that he had ever enjoyed, and the first where he had the feeling that he could advance if he had the ability:

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About every week they put up jobs that's in the company up on the board. You can take a test or bid on these jobs. On the basis of your attendance record, if it's good, and if you've been with the company 2 or 3 years and you turn out good, I think you stand a chance of getting advanced. . . . I've come to the conclusion that I don't have to work on this job forever. . . . At least I know it's up to me.

A third employee, who was a janitor when interviewed, said he was not happy being at "the bottom rung on the ladder," but stayed with the job because he had hopes of advancing within the company.

Another employee reported unhappily that his chances for advancement were poorer than average because of the stigma attached to being one of the "hard-core unemployed."

Perhaps the explanation of hard-core "disinterest" in work can be found in the kind of jobs that are available to them—jobs they feel offer little or no opportunity to get ahead. Several employees described how their fathers had spent their whole lives working at low-level jobs and ended up with nothing to show for it.

In many studies of workers' attitudes toward their jobs, opportunity for advancement has ranked quite high, although this has been less true for factory than for office workers. While a strict comparison is not possible, it seems likely that the utility company workers studied put comparatively less emphasis on this factor than did the average worker. Some of the men probably had given up even thinking in terms of such an elusive goal.

A number of those who were terminated expressed some different standards for jobs than those who stayed. They emphasized the nature of work scheduling, the intrinsic interest of the work, and the prestige of the job.

Five of the thirteen terminated employees mentioned the rigidity of work scheduling as an important factor in job dissatisfaction, and 3 of those 5 were men to whom work was only peripheral. Judging from the attendance problems of most terminated workers, others also found the scheduling of work at the utility company too rigid. But none of the men who kept their jobs talked about dissatisfaction with work scheduling.

Many of the men mentioned off-the-job problems that made promptness and steady attendance difficult. In part, the difficulty was lack of knowledge of how to cope efficiently with such problems. They were accustomed to taking off from work to take care of them and were not aware of alternatives. Other men indicated that they resented tight control over their behavior.

Five of the terminated men mentioned interesting, challenging, or creative work as important, whereas only one of those who stayed specifically discussed this factor.

One man who quit said:

I quit . . . because I don't receive any satisfaction from having completed a job. . . . I think I have more brains than that. I think that I was made to do something greater.

Another man who left described the best job he had ever had, as a metal finisher, in these terms:

It used to gas me just to smooth out the bumps in the metal. I almost cried because I couldn't get to go to work out there. Had to quit the job cause it's too far. . . . That was about the best job that I guess I've ever had—for once I found a job that touched my heart. It made me happy. Didn't mind going to it, wasn't sweating or anything like that. I could use my brain, just sort of figure out how it's going to come out.

In one study of which factors were important in shaping the attitudes of employees in general toward their jobs, the intrinsic interest of the work ranked very high, second only to security (see *Job Attitudes: Review of Research and Opinion,* Psychological Service of Pittsburgh). Its lower significance with the hard core may be related to a scaling down of their aspiration levels as they faced up to the realities of their lives. When the chances of getting a challenging or creative job are slim, only frustration can result from yearning for it. All of the "leavers" who mentioned this factor were still under 30 years old and perhaps had not entirely settled for "the possible."

Job prestige was an added dividend to some of the men and lack of prestige was a cause for dissatisfaction with a job. Nearly a third of those who left mentioned status of jobs, although they did not dwell on it. Only one man who kept his job brought it up. One man who had never been happy with the utility company job and left it mentioned its prestige to the men on the street as one thing in its favor.

Surprisingly, since it has ranked first in many other studies as a factor in job attitudes, security was not mentioned as important, or even implicitly indicated as significant, by most of the men. None of those who stayed and only three who left mentioned it. One reported that at the age of 58 his father had to resort to odd jobs because the company where he had worked left town. This broke his father's pride completely. Another described how his father was left "out in the cold" when the factory where he had worked for 20 years went out of business.

What these men had to say is perhaps explanatory of why security was discussed so seldom; being used to "bottom of the barrel" jobs with low seniority, job security probably was not even within their frame of reference.

In general, in terms of hard-core employee standards, the utility company jobs measured up and were viewed as desirable. One indication of this is that, of the workers who were terminated, very few quit. Almost all were discharged, most because of some attendance problem. Also, six men (three of whom were discharged) volunteered the information that their job with the utility company was the best one they had ever had.

Measuring the utility company jobs against specific work standards, most interviewees stressed, as assets of their particular jobs, good relations with coworkers, good treatment by management, and a chance for advancement. The shortcomings that they mentioned most often were poor treatment by management and bad relations with coworkers. Interpersonal relations obviously were crucial in program success or failure.

The motivations and goals of the men studied appear to be similar to workers in general. Where they differ, it seems to be due to the failures that the hard-core workers have experienced rather than to different subcultural values. The workers studied gave no indication of different hopes and dreams than might be characteristic of the rest of society. They merely had scaled down their expectation in terms of the realities of their lives. □

Statistics

Training Programs

MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT

INSTITUTIONAL TRAINING

Number enrolled from Aug. 1962 through June 30, 1969	848,400
Number completing training Aug. 1962 through June 30, 1969	566,700
Number employed at time of last contact	422,300
Number enrolled in fiscal 1969	135,000
Number budgeted for fiscal 1970	98,800

ON-THE-JOB TRAINING

Number enrolled from Aug. 1962 through June 30, 1969	382,000
Number completing training Aug. 1962 through June 30, 1969	273,500
Number employed at time of last contact	235,800
Number enrolled in fiscal 1969	85,000
Number budgeted for fiscal 1970	83,200

PART-TIME AND OTHER TRAINING

Number budgeted for fiscal 1970	21,600

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT

NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS

Number enrolled Jan. 1965 through Sept. 1969	2,270,200
Number enrolled in fiscal 1969	504,100
Number budgeted for fiscal 1970	423,500

OPERATION MAINSTREAM

Number enrolled from Mar. 1967 through Sept. 1969	38,500
Number enrolled in fiscal 1969	11,300
Number budgeted for fiscal 1970	10,700

NEW CAREERS

Number enrolled from Mar. 1967 through Sept. 1969	10,200
Number enrolled in fiscal 1969	3,800
Number budgeted for fiscal 1970	7,300

JOB OPPORTUNITIES IN THE BUSINESS SECTOR (JOBS)

Number enrolled from June 1968 through Aug. 1969	65,900
Number enrolled in fiscal 1969	51,200
Number budgeted in fiscal 1970	140,000

REGISTERED APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAMS

Number enrolled as of Jan. 1, 1969	238,000

CONCENTRATED EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

Number enrolled from June 1967 through Sept. 1969	219,900

WORK INCENTIVE PROGRAM

Number enrolled through Sept. 1969	97,900

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Publications

Following is a selected list of publications on manpower and related matters. Unless otherwise indicated, single copies can be obtained free by writing or telephoning the Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. 20210. For publications not available free and for multiple copies of all priced items, write the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, and enclose payment.

Occupational Guides — Oceanography; Optometry

First two of a series. Each guide contains summary of occupational opportunities; statement of education, training, and experience required; description of worker traits; and job market information. $1.00 each.

Occupational Analysis of Computers in Medical Sciences

Brings together in one 90-page pamphlet information on new and development computer technology as applied to medical sciences. Describes 19 computer occupations in this field. Should be helpful to counselors, students, and those who work in or with public employment offices. 45 cents.

The JOBS Program: An Assault on Hard-Core Jobless Problems

Pamphlet discusses Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) Program, sponsored by National Alliance of Businessmen to enlist resources of private industry to meet problems of hard-core unemployment in major urban areas. Flyer on same subject also is available.

Apprenticeship: Past and Present

Pamphlet traces development of apprenticeship from early days up to present time and points to some directions of future activity.

The Manpower Research Institutional Grant Program: The First Three Years, 1966-1969

Discusses centers established under Manpower Development and Training Act for long-range research and training of specialists in manpower field in seven colleges and universities.

Assessing the Economic Scene

Brochure, with charts and tables, based on testimony by Secretary of Labor George P. Shultz before Joint Economic Committee of the Congress.

Job Corps Pamphlets

Illustrated pamphlets describing Job Corps and how its training programs may help employers find workers they need. Available for following programs:

- Construction Trades
- Mechanic's Assistant, Service Station Attendant, Autobody Repairman
- Cook, Baker, Cook Helper
- Stenographers, Clerks, Typists, Business Machine Operators

Supervising the Hard Core: Some Management Guidelines

Pamphlet outlines findings of Department of Labor studies of experiences of various companies with programs for employing hard core.

Transition From School to Work in Selected Countries

Bureau of Labor Statistics booklet surveys transition from school to work in more than a dozen other countries, selected on basis of comparability to U.S. with regard to political and personal freedom, economy, institutions, and availability of data. Covers role of general education in preparation for work, vocational guidance and counseling, vocational education and training, and young worker on job threshold and on the job.

Industry Wage Survey: Iron and Steel Foundries, November 1967

Summary of results of Bureau of Labor Statistics survey of wages and supplementary practices in iron and steel foundries in November 1967. Data are reported separately for four product branches. $1.00. No free copies available.

Handbook of Labor Statistics 1969

Makes available in one 407-page volume the major series produced by Bureau of Labor Statistics. In general, each table is complete historically, from earliest reliable and consistent data through calendar year 1968. Included are related series from other governmental agencies and foreign countries. Data grouped under subject matter headings having economic significance. $3.75. No free copies available.

Industry Wage Survey: Footwear, March 1968

Summarizes results of Bureau of Labor Statistics survey of wages and supplementary benefits in footwear manufacturing industry in March 1968. Information reported separately for major product branches of the industry. 75 cents. No free copies available.

National Emergency Disputes: Labor Management Relations (Taft-Hartley) Act 1947-68

Bureau of Labor Statistics bulletin provides chronological account of unresolved issues that resulted in work stoppages which warranted use of national emergency procedures in Labor Management Relations Act of 1947, efforts made by parties and Federal officials to resolve these differences, and actions of Emergency Boards appointed to investigate disputes and prepare findings. Updates bulletin issued in 1966, to include all national emergency disputes starting prior to January 1969. $1.00. No free copies available.

Major Collective Bargaining Agreements: Plant Movement, Transfer, and Relocation Allowances

Based on examination of nearly all major collective bargaining agreements in U.S., this is 10th in a series of studies by Bureau of Labor Statistics surveying entire scope of collective bargaining agreement. Concerned with management's and labor's solutions to three important collective bargaining issues: Protection afforded employees displaced by plant shutdowns and plant movements; rights and options of workers in transfers between plants or companies that are party to a common agreement; factors governing payment of relocation allowances when these are available to employees who transfer to another plant. $1.25. No free copies available.

Directory of Occupational Safety and Health Laws and Codes

Cross-index of all significant State safety and health laws, codes, rules, and regulations applicable to workplaces. Prepared by Bureau of Labor Statistics. $1.25. No free copies available.

Tomorrow's Manpower Needs

A 4-volume Bureau of Labor Statistics study telling how estimates of future manpower requirements can be developed for a State or community within context of national manpower information. For use in planning education and training. No free copies available.

- Vol. I. Developing Area Manpower Projections. $1.00.
- Vol. II. National Trends and Outlook: Industry Employment and Occupational Structure. $1.25.
- Vol. III. National Trends and Outlook: Occupational Employment. 55 cents.
- Vol. IV. The National Industry-Occupational Matrix and Other Manpower Data. $2.00.

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